

SIX LECTURES

ON THE

CONDITION, RESOURCES, AND PROSPECTS

BRITISH INDIA.

AND THE

DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF GREAT BRITAIN TO DO
JUSTICE TO THAT VAST EMPIRE:

BY GEORGE THOMPSON.

WITH A

PREFATORY ADDRESS BY THE RIGHT HON. LORD CLIFFORD:

AND AN

ESSAY ON THE CULTIVATION OF COTTON IN INDIA,
BY MAJOR GENERAL BRIGGS, F.R.S.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE following pages contain the report of Six Lectures delivered in Manchester, at the latter part of the year 1839, and reported in the "GUARDIAN" and "TIMES," local newspapers. But few alterations have been made, and scarcely any additions. They owe their re-appearance in their present form, to the favourable opinion of the benevolent and enlightened Nobleman who has prefixed to them a short address. My motive in delivering them, was a desire to awaken attention to the condition and claims of a strangely neglected empire, possessing boundless resources, and by compulsion rendered wholly dependent on the Government and People of this nation. I am well aware of their many deficiencies; but, on examination, with the aid of much additional information, drawn from the best and highest sources, I see no opinions or statements which require either to be abandoned or modified.

If at the time these lectures were given, there were strong reasons for calling public attention to India, there are, at the present time, additional and overwhelming arguments for a renewed appeal. On both sides of India, on the east and on the west, we are at war with hundreds of millions of the human race. These wars have placed our Indian possessions in jeopardy; they have utterly exhausted our Indian finances; they have deprived the population of India of the circulating medium of the country; they have occasioned the entire stoppage of every work for the internal improvement of India: the cultivator is unable to find money to pay his land-tax; the merchant is unable to find beasts of burden to transport his merchandize; the native soldiers are beginning to cherish feelings of alarm and distrust, and are daily deserting; while, at

TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND

Manchester, Dec. 5, 1841.

FELLOW CHRISTIANS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

By this reprint, in the form of a pamphlet, of Mr. Thompson's Lectures on India, I afford you an opportunity of placing on the shelves of your libraries, sentiments as important in themselves under your present difficulties, as they are lucidly and eloquently expressed. I am also enabling a greater number of you than could be present in October, 1839, at the Friends' Meeting House in this town, or than could have an opportunity of preserving the Manchester Times and Guardian newspaper (whose editors first presented to you the printed report of Mr. Thompson's lectures) to become acquainted with the TRUTHS, to the diffusion of which Mr. Thompson has dedicated his time, his talents, and his very existence. May God reward him; and grant in His mercy to you, that his labours may not be thrown away upon you. As for myself, I have only to assure you, that from all I know of you, there is no one sentence in all the valuable pages which I now present to you, more important to you, and especially to the manufacturing classes among you, at this crisis of your very existence, than the following one:—"A further confession of faith there is not a man, a woman, in this company of Christians to-night, would extort from my lips." * Until combined distress and reflection

* Vide page 3 of Lectures.

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LECTURES ON BRITISH INDIA.

FIRST LECTURE.

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

My object in appearing before you to-night is to deliver the first of a series of lectures on the subject of British India. These, so far as I am able to see through the subject which I have undertaken to discuss, will embrace the present state of our possessions in the East, the actual condition of our fellow subjects in that quarter of the globe, (amounting to one hundred millions,) and the claims of this immense multitude of human beings upon our compassion and justice. Also a brief sketch of the history and present character of the British government in India; the actual state of commerce with the East, contrasted with the capacity of the soil, the variety of its productions, and the wants of its population. Also the principles which have guided our conduct towards India, compared with those on which we have carried on our intercourse with other parts of the world; the natural ability of India to furnish to this district a regular and sufficient supply of that raw material, which lies at the very foundation of the ingenuity, the industry, and the wealth for which it is so highly distinguished; (I refer, as you will readily understand, to cotton)—the hindrances which at present stand in the way of an extensive cultivation of a superior quality of cotton in India, and the means by which those hindrances may be removed; the practicability and unexceptionable character of those means; the connection between the improvement of the physical, moral, and political condition of the natives of India, and the augmentation, to an indefinite extent, of our greatness and prosperity as a trading and manufacturing nation—the influence of a better system upon the political aspect and future destiny of India—the certain

and acted upon, every system based upon monopoly, and worked out by slavery, will totter to its everlasting fall. Again, with reference to our dominion in the East; I desire the continuance of our sway; believing that we have it in our power, and hoping that we shall soon extend it our privilege to bestow upon our Asiatic empire, so long and so criminally neglected, incalculable blessings of the richest kind. But I wish to see our dominion secured and perpetuated by the administration of a paternal government; fostering intellect, encouraging agriculture, improving the face of the country, respecting the rights of the natives, rewarding virtue and eligibility, and not exemption, as qualifications for office—a government riding through the kinder affections, not the fears of the natives; upheld by the spontaneous allegiance of millions of hearts, and not by the dreaded array of two hundred thousand bayonets.

Again, I desire most sincerely, as who does not, the propagation of that religion of peace and prosperity, which constitutes at once the brightest glory and the surest defence of our native land; but I would not have it retarded in its progress by the inconsistencies of its professors; I would not have it sullied and contradicted by acts of injustice and cruelty, and by systematic wholesale oppression and wrong. Above all, I would not that a disgraceful connection should continue, between a government nominally Christian, and the idolatrous paganism and pilgrimages of the people we govern. I would not see the plains of a British soldier waving amid the sanguinary festivities of Juggernaut, nor a solitary rapine, the done of an idolatrous worship, put into the treasury of a Christian state. I would have our government continue as it might, by the consent of the people; I would have our government founded, as it ought to be, on righteousness and truth; I would have our faith—our holy, our religious faith—diffused and extended by holy men and holy lives, and recommended by the meekness and the mercy, the justice and the benevolence of those who profess it. The greatest obstacle to the march of Christianity upon the coral strand of India, is the palpable contradiction given to the truths of Christianity in the lives of those who have been baptised in its name. Let these obstacles be removed, and then we may, without reproach, and without despondency, take up the language of poetry and prayer, and say—

O haste your kindly coming, days of gold,
Lend by prophetic ministry terror! I!
Where your bright party streaks the orient skies,
Rise Science, Freedom, Peace, Religion rise!
Till from Tanore to farthest Samarcand,
In one wide lustre bath the glowing land,
And Branch from his quality greatness herald,
(With Mecca's Lord,) Messiah rule the world!

I think I need say nothing further in reference to the great views I cherish upon this question, whether of political economy, or civil government, or religion, however dear or near to the hearts of those who are around me. A farther confession of faith there is not a man, a woman, in this company of Christians to-night would exort from my lips.

I stand before you the representative of the British India Society—a society which has its origin in a benevolent regard for the natives of India; a society embracing men of all parties, and founded upon a

of balmy skies, voluptuous gales, of golden dews, of plains of Paradise, of amaranthine bowers, and floods of living light; I come to speak the language of truth and soberness, to set forth the wretchedness and the wants, and the solemn and sacred claims of a population embracing nearly one-sixth part of the whole human race. In doing this, I shall place before you no picture sketched by my own fancy, but the scenes described with stern truth, by men who have had the largest possible opportunities of knowing India. My part is not that of a witness, to bear testimony to that which I have seen, but rather the part of the historian, to bring out and arrange the evidence that is placed before me—not, however, to make out a case—not to disparage a party for the sake of accomplishing an end, but to elicit truth and to obtain justice.

Let me remind those who hear me, that the sceptre of this little island is the sceptre of the peninsula of India; that our maiden monarch rules over a country stretching from the bay of Bengal to the great sandy desert; from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya Mountains; and from the Gulph of Cutch to the borders of China. Three quarters of a century ago, a few forts, erected on the coast for the protection of our commerce, were all we could boast of in India; now, we are the masters of five hundred thousand square miles of territory, exert a direct dominion over one hundred millions of the human race, and a paramount influence over one hundred and fifty millions. The British Governor-General at Calcutta now sways the sceptre of the Great Mogul. Surely, sirs, it would be interesting, it would be proper, if we had time, to trace the march of British conquest in the east, and follow our merchants from their lowly pursuits on the coast of Coromandel to the summit of their princely power, dictating terms to the hereditary occupants of oriental thrones. It is, however, with the present state of India that we have to do.

The government of India, as you are aware, is in the hands of a chartered company, well known by the name of the East India Company. Until 1831, the directors and proprietors of the East India Company were not only sovereigns, ruling India, but merchants trading to India—merchant monarchs, enjoying certain exclusive privileges and monopolies. Five years ago, however, through your exertions among those of others, they were deprived of their trade, but were left the joint-stock kings and queens of India. I say queens, because ladies are stockholders as well as gentlemen, are eligible to sit in the court of proprietors as well as gentlemen; and many ladies are, in trust, the rulers of British India. It is extremely proper, therefore, that I should address the ladies upon this occasion; there may be ladies here, for aught I know, with proxies in their pockets, who, within the last few days, may have been voting Colonel this, and Captain that, and Major the other, for the court of directors; and I would that every individual of every political party, and every religious profession, every ecclesiastic and every layman, did but feel the responsibility imposed upon him to give his proxy, to employ his vote, to raise his voice, to legislate in the British parliament, with a single eye to the exaltation of the name of Him who is King of kings, and the happiness of a hundred millions of rational and immortal beings. I say those ladies and gentlemen were once merchant princes and merchant princesses; but they are now only rulers and kings and queens. The government of India is theirs; the revenue of India is

poppy is often compulsory on the part of the ryot : the trade has created a numerous class of persons who live by insolence, extortion, and corruption, making the helpless ryot the victim of their cupidity and fraud : the opium grown in British India is smuggled into China, in defiance of the laws and regulations of the Chinese Government : the opium so introduced is the instrument of demoralization and death to a large portion of the inhabitants of the Chinese empire : the prosecution of the trade in this pernicious drug has brought upon us the mingled hatred, suspicion, and contempt of the government and people of China ; and, finally, the trade operates to exclude us from unrestricted commercial intercourse with an immense population.

Here are three of the principal sources of revenue, all oppressive and iniquitous. Custom-house duties, the post-office, tribute, &c. produce say five millions more, making together twenty millions pounds sterling. Now for the other side of the account. Of the twenty millions thus raised, nine millions, or nearly, are demanded by the exigencies of the army. The collection of the revenue costs more than four millions ; and then the civil and political establishments, and those for the administration of justice, may take about three millions more, and then nearly two millions more are required to pay interest upon money that has been borrowed ; and then a million more is necessary for pensions, assignments, and allowances in India ; then two millions must come to this country to divide dividends, and pay numerous salaried servants, besides other expenses on this side of the water. Thus the twenty millions are got rid of.

I proceed now to say a word respecting the natural features of India. Of these it is impossible to speak except in terms of the highest admiration. India presents every variety of scenery : majestic rivers, innumerable streams, salt lakes in abundance, mineral springs, every kind of landscape, embracing the soft, the mild, the imposing, and the grand ; majestic forests, impenetrable jungles, and fertile valleys ; extended plains, and ranges of the steepest mountains ; and, overlooking all, the sublime and snow-crowned Himalayas, raising their peaks upwards of twenty-five thousand feet above the sea, and exhibiting on their sides, villages, fields, flocks, and herds, elevated to the height of three miles above the waves which dash upon the shores. Besides these, there are innumerable isthmuses, islands, and deltas, all fitted for peculiarly valuable purposes. Then, of the riches of this country, what shall we say ? They are as exhaustless as they are valuable, and as varied as they are vast. Iron, copper, lead, antimony, zinc, sulphur, silver, gold : and besides these, there are immense fields of coal in various parts of the country. Then, among the vegetable productions, there are cotton, sugar, indigo, rice, tea, tobacco, opium, (if you like opium,) india-rubber, coffee, cinnamon, pepper, cassia, galls, ginger, sesma, grains of all kinds, gums of all kinds, raw silk, oils of various descriptions, tanning materials, woods of almost every kind ; five hundred specimens of which were some time ago submitted by the East Company to the London Society of Arts, and I have here classifications of the species. Of the fruits and flowers of India, I have not time to speak, neither of its zoology. Information respecting these matters can be obtained without difficulty. Great numbers who hear me are, no doubt, familiar with the romantic features and the wild scenery of India, who have never paused to contrast the richness and fertility, and boundless resources of the country, with the actual

testimonies in favour of the inhabitants of India, particularly the Hindoos, who constitute, as you know, the great bulk of the population, and against whom the gravest charges have from time to time been brought.

Amongst the almost endless tribes and castes in India, there are to be found some of the lowest and most debased of the human family. Dr. Spry, who has recently written two volumes entitled *Modern India*, has informed us that there are living within one hundred and fifty miles of Calcutta a race of individuals—their amount is not correctly ascertained—who are cannibals, in appearance the most repulsive, in their manners wild and ferocious, speaking a dialect peculiar to themselves, and building their villages in the boughs of forest trees. It is believed, also, that there is another race of cannibals called Goands, inhabiting the hill forests of Nagpore. You have all, I dare say, heard of the Thugs, a confederacy of murderers, held together by mystic rights, following their horrid trade as a religious duty. We have accounts of another and similar gang traversing another portion of the country, whose history and operations are at this moment the subject of a rigid investigation on the part of the government of India. You have also heard of the idolatrous worship of the country, so that I need not harrow up your feelings with a relation of the scenes of Juggernaut, the burning of widows, and the neglect and desertion of children by their parents. We have in this day's paper an account of the death of Runjeet Singh, a celebrated chief in India, and the destruction upon the funeral pyre of four princesses, his wives, and seven slaves. I disguise none of these facts. No; on a proper occasion I would be first to bring them forward, and make them the ground work of an urgent appeal to the compassion and Christian zeal of this community. On this occasion it is not my purpose to fix your attention upon the all but extinct tribes of aborigines, or upon the dreadful deeds of men who follow the trade of Thuggee or Dacoity, many of whom were before peaceful and happy villagers, but have been torn from their paternal homes by ruthless oppressors, and those oppressors too bearing the sacred name of Christianity; nor upon the phrenzied acts of men and women, led to propitiate incensed imaginary patrons and deities by the most barbarous sacrifices, and the most painful pilgrimages. Neither do I wish you to judge of the population of India by the specimens that are found in the immediate precincts of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, or in the immediate neighbourhood of any of the great civil and military stations; for what say those who are best able to judge of the contact between the natives and the Europeans? And while I make a quotation or two, you will blush for your countrymen, who have succeeded in making men whom they had previously described as absolutely immoral, still worse by their example and treatment. Sirs, I have here the authority of a distinguished individual now in this country, the Right Hon. Holt M'Kenzie, formerly a judge in India. What does he say is the effect of the contact of the natives of India with the Europeans? Speaking of particular parts of India, viz., the ceded districts, he says—

“The longer we have had these districts, the more apparently do lying and litigation prevail; the more are morals vitiated; the more are rights involved in doubt; the more are the foundations of society shaken.”

What does another gentleman say, Captain Westmacott?

character of the native Indians? All those whose names I am about to introduce, to you are men who have filled the most exalted stations, and enjoyed the most extensive opportunities of forming correct opinions respecting the manners, acquirements, and dispositions of the Hindoos. What says the late lamented Bishop Heber? You will always respect the authority of this accomplished prelate. He went out to India prejudiced against the people. He had read the accounts given by the historian Mill, and the missionary Ward—the one a most profound philosopher, the other a most useful, pious, and exemplary missionary. He went from place to place over India, carried by his faithful and industrious palankeen bearers. He came in contact with the natives; learned what were their habits, what their municipal institutions, what their agricultural pursuits, what their conduct and character while mingling with each other; and he says:—

“Of the people, so far as their natural character is concerned, I have been led to form, on the whole, a very favourable opinion. They have, unhappily, many of the vices arising from slavery, from an unsettled state of society, and immoral and erroneous systems of religion. But they are men of high and gallant courage, courteous, intelligent, and most eager after knowledge and improvement, with a remarkable aptitude for the abstract sciences, geometry, astronomy, &c, and for the imitative arts, painting and sculpture. They are sober, industrious, dutiful to their parents, and affectionate to their children; of tempers almost uniformly gentle and patient, and more easily affected by kindness and attention to their wants and feelings than almost any men whom I have met with.”

I will state another authority still more satisfactory to me, as his residence in India was longer, and his experience much greater than that of Bishop Heber—the late Mr. Robert Rikards, late of the firm of Rikards, Mackintosh, and Co. of London. He says:—

“Of the natives of India I may be permitted to add, that they are naturally acute and intelligent; and, whatever prejudice may say to the contrary, that they possess as much industry as any other known people—an industry that never fails to manifest itself, when it is not kept down by the overwhelming pressure of arbitrary power. They have many and distinguished virtues, with fewer vices than the long-continued despotisms they have groaned under might be admitted to excuse. Their patience is exemplary; and instances are numerous of the warmest attachment to those among their superiors who practise the same virtue towards them. Europeans of forbearing dispositions, and whose sense of right has induced them to be just and patient in their attention to the representations and wants of the natives, have experienced this grateful feeling in an eminent degree.

“Whatever false theorists, misled by superficial observation, may urge on the natural character of native Indians, I hesitate not, confirmed by long experience, to assert, that they are capable of every virtue and of every acquirement that adorn the human mind; that what they now appear to be is not their nature, but what the caprices and severities of their rulers have made them: and, I lament to add, that the habits, which previous despotisms had established, the British Government has not yet changed.”

I am also glad to hold in my hand the testimony of an excellent friend, Major-General Briggs, who was recently in this town—and may be again ere these lectures are brought to a conclusion; who has spent the greater portion of his life in India, who has filled the highest situations, and has mingled with the natives in almost every presidency, and in almost every province of India. He kindly permits me to use his testimony—not written for the occasion—but delivered in 1828, eleven years ago, since which time he has been or

of the finest qualities of the mind. They are brave, generous, and humane, and their truth is as remarkable as their courage. The great proportion of the army of the Bengal establishment is composed of these men; and it is remarkable that there are few corporal punishments in that army, the slightest reproach being felt as the greatest punishment is among other nations. I have spoken more to the military class of the Hindus than to the others, because I am more acquainted with them; but, from all I ever heard of those who follow civil pursuits, it is much the same, allowing for the difference of the habits of life, as that of the Bengal sepoys."

Now I will venture to give you one word more from another individual, and then I have done; and you will not accuse that individual of being over partial to the natives of India. Certainly he does not stand very high in the estimation of their friends. That individual is Warren Hastings. Now what is his testimony? I have spoken of the eloquence of Burke and Sheridan on the trial of Warren Hastings; but after he had retired for years, and had dwelt in obscurity, he was summoned by a mandate of the House of Commons to give evidence before that house in 1813. When he had made his statement before the Committee, one of the members asked him how it was that his testimony before them differed so much with his conduct while in India? "Sir," replied he, "I am not here to reconcile my inconsistencies, but to state upon oath, as an aged man bordering on the grave, what I know to be the truth." Now what is his testimony? When calmly looking back upon the character of the natives of India, he says:

"Great pains have been taken to inculcate into the public mind an opinion that the native Indians are in a state of complete moral turpitude, and live in the constant and unrestrained commission of every vice and crime that can disgrace human nature. I affirm, by the oath that I have taken, that this description of them is untrue, and wholly unfounded. What I have to add must be taken as my belief, but a belief impressed by a longer and more intimate acquaintance with the people than has fallen to the lot of many of my countrymen. In speaking of the people, it is necessary to distinguish the Hindus, who form the great portion of the population, from the Mahometans, who are intermixed with them, but generally live in separate communities; the former are gentle, benevolent, more susceptible of gratitude for kindness shewn to them, than prompted to vengeance by wrongs inflicted, and as exempt from the worst propensities of human passion, as any people on the face of the earth. They are faithful and affectionate in service, and submissive to legal authority. They are superstitious, it is true, but they do not think ill of us for not thinking as they do."

Here end my testimonies to the character of the Hindoos. And why do I cite these testimonies one after the other? and why do I keep you from those branches of the question which to you are more interesting, as affecting your pursuits and callings on this side of the ocean? It is for this reason: I am anxious you should have just conceptions of the people in whose behalf I plead. As I pleaded for freedom and justice on behalf of the negro, whom I exhibited not as an imperfect, wretched being, but as a being capable of being elevated by the Christian care of this country, and made to be the partaker of heavenly grace: so, as I entreated for one million in the West, do I plead for one hundred millions in the East, and that you may care for them, I wish you to know them; that you may love them, I desire you to admire them. I would not strip them of their superstition; I would not annihilate, by a figure of rhetoric, the car of Juggernaut. Let every pile that has been kindled smoke before you; let every victim that has been crushed beneath the ponderous car of idolatry be

yards. No: *thirty-nine millions two hundred and seventy-six thousand five hundred and eleven yards!* The declared value—what? £100,000? No: but £1,531,393; leaving the balance in favour of free trade, and against the announcements of the Leadenhall-street sages, of fifty-six millions seven hundred and forty-nine thousand nine hundred and fifty-three yards, and £1,421,913 in the pockets of the British manufacturers.

Look then at India. You see that something can be done. Now, I ask, why have not the exports gone on increasing. Will some philosopher tell me, as they told us in 1813, that we cannot increase our exports? We shall see. I have upon this table, authorities upon authorities in proof of the earnest desire of the natives generally, to consume our manufactures; and, on another occasion, I shall refer to these; but I will just say, that though all the imports into India, of plain and printed cotton, of hardware, of delf ware, flint glass, hermetically sealed hams, London porter, Madeira wine, and everything else that makes the table of the nabob groan when it is spread before his guests—all, all come from England; yet, the sum total of our exports to India are what? £3,440,000; and our imports from India, what? £2,500,000. Now, let us test this. What are your imports from the United States in one article alone—cotton? How much do you pay brother Jonathan? Is it £3,000,000, or £6,000,000, or £9,000,000? Would not £12,000,000 be nearer the mark for the single article of cotton wool? As for your exports, I shall endeavour to give them on another occasion. But the imports from America of cotton exceed the imports from India at least eight or nine times over. But let us apply another test. There is the island of Mauritius, inhabited by ninety-six thousand human beings, of whom, the other day, seventy-six thousand were slaves; and they are little better yet, because they have not yet had time so materially to improve their circumstances, as to make a very material alteration in the trade of that island. Therefore, I shall go back to the years of their apprenticeship, in order to give you the calculations which I think most just. To the island of Mauritius, with a population of only ninety-six thousand, our exports were £356,000; our imports, £697,000; and the taxes upon all, including both slaves and masters, were 52s. 8d. per head. Take the colony of Sydney, made up of all sorts. Sydney is said to contain a population of eighty-five thousand. From Sydney they export, as you are aware, very much wool and other things, to the amount of £514,000, and import to the amount of £749,000; and the inhabitants of Sydney pay taxes per head of 77s. 7d. Then, in British Guiana, where there is a population of ninety-nine thousand seven hundred, we export to the amount of £666,000, and import to the amount of £1,929,000, and the whole population pay on an average 31s. 3d. per head in taxes. The little island of Trinidad, with a population of forty thousand, takes to the amount of £233,000, and exports to the amount of £298,000. And the despised island of St. Domingo, said to be over-run with brutes in the form of negroes—those human beings whom all the world have agreed to laugh at, but could not conquer—they, you know, have an export trade of about a million, and an import trade of about a million, though the population is not more than one million one hundred thousand. Then look at British India, containing one hundred millions of inhabitants, whose export trade does not exceed £2,500,000, or about 6d. per head, and with an import trade

Sweden, and Portugal, and Denmark, about one million more ; making an aggregate of between five and six millions of human beings held in bondage. And what does this produce ? A slave trade between Africa and the other parts of the world, to the extent of one hundred and sixty thousand, or one hundred and seventy thousand per annum, at a cost to Africa, as has been demonstrated, of three hundred and seventy five thousand, or nearly ; so that during every revolution of this earth upon its axis, more than one thousand human beings are either by slaughter or enslavement sacrificed. Either they are slaughtered in the predatory wars waged to procure slaves, or die in the dreadful march from the interior to the coast, or are murdered in their passage, or pine in bondage on the rice plains of Carolina, or the valley of the Mississippi ; and thus three hundred and seventy five thousand of the children of Africa are either immolated on their own shores, die upon the ocean, or are carried into returnless captivity. We wish this to be put an end to. And how is this trade to be put an end to ? Do men go to the expense of sending ruffian fiends to Africa, to steal men and women, that they may have the abstract pleasure of ill-treating them, and calling them slaves ? No : you want cotton. Your mills are continually crying, give, give, give. The Americans love money ; and to get your money, they send men to Africa to steal men and women and children there, and to bring them to Texas or Cuba, in order that you may sweeten your morning drink with sugar, and clothe yourselves with cotton. Now, why must every vein of Africa thus bleed ? Why must every wind that passes over the plains of Carolina gather up the sighs of broken hearts ? Will the cotton tree grow only in the valley of the Mississippi ? Must the crushed cane with its sweets be procured at the expense of the crushed hearts of millions of human beings ? Where is the home of the cotton tree ? Is it America ? No. There it is a foreigner and an exotic. The home of the cotton tree is India ; there it has grown for four thousand years. Do you want to know who wore it ? The Hindoos and the Egyptians wore it ; the noble, graceful, civilized Asiatics wore it. I say civilized—luxuriant in all the fruits of learning and taste ; while our barbarous ancestors clothed their bodies with skins, or covered them with paint. Look then from the shores of America to the plains of India—to the birth-place of the cotton plant. Encourage India ; foster and cherish India. Speak the word ; and you shall have cotton, and you shall have no discriminating duties ; we will not ask you to say, “ which is the blood-stained produce, and which is the produce of well paid industry.” The willing husbandman will give you cotton for 4d. per lb. while the slave master, taxed with the curse of his system, cannot afford it you for less than 9d. per lb. Here then are profit and philanthropy going hand in hand ; and as we are all agreed as rational beings to use *means* for the accomplishment of our ends, I believe it is our duty to look upon this question in this aspect. I touch upon it the more freely, because I find, standing as I do before this audience, the most grave and influential part of my subject would be left unnamed, if I did not tell you that upon the principle of political economy, by putting into operation the laws of supply and demand, by breaking down the barriers which prejudice and ignorance have upreared, you may give happiness to a hundred millions of human beings, freedom to millions more, and peace and security to an entire nation on the continent of Africa.

shrine of our cupidity. I would have our wharves covered with the sugar, cotton, and tea, and rice, and indigo of India, but I would not have a single native of the country enslaved or dispossessed. I would not have the scenes of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence perpetrated over again upon the banks of the Burrampooter and the Ganges. Least of all, would I have those energies which I desire to see exerted to save India, put forth to injure and destroy her. I want you to send nothing to India but just laws, your orders, your money, and your manufactures. If you will follow me through the lectures I have commenced, from topic to topic, from demonstration to demonstration, I will show you how, without going beyond the limits of your own Exchange and manufactory, you may bestow prosperity and happiness upon a great and grateful people, and bring down upon you the blessing of millions ready to perish. I invoke you, then, by every feeling of enlightened patriotism, by every principle of honourable enterprise, and every recollection of human responsibility, to enter upon the work I have set before you. So shall you prove yourselves a generous and magnanimous people. So shall your righteousness go before you, and the glory of the Lord bring up the rear.

END OF THE FIRST LECTURE.

bute their patronage and attend to their private concerns, and have been anxious rather to resist all experiments to better the condition and bring out the resources of the country, than to invent and carry out plans of improvement—if, I say, it can be shewn that the welfare of the multiplying millions of the East has been overlooked in a general and prevalent desire to advance party and personal objects, then, I think, it will be seen and felt by the friends of India, that the time is come to look from those who have proved themselves (to say the least) unequal to the due discharge of their delegated trust, to those by whom that trust has been confided, and who are bound, before man and before God, to see that the power they have bestowed, is neither neglected, transcended, nor abused. But, further; if it can be shewn that, through the incompetence or malversation of the rulers of India, a vast amount of misery and injustice has been inflicted upon the natives; that the prosperity of the empire has declined; that the sources of its revenue are gradually diminishing; that already the symptoms of disaffection and distrust are appearing; add to which, that the growth in wealth and comfort of the people of this country is greatly retarded by the present system of Indian administration—then, sirs, I think a case has been made out warranting a prompt and effectual interference. I think I shall fully succeed, before these lectures are brought to a close, in shewing that such a case exists.

More than twenty years ago, the late Mr. Mill was of opinion, that the members of the court of proprietors (the democratical branch of the East India Company) had forgotten their duty, and had become utterly indifferent to the way in which the government of India was conducted. After describing the constitution and powers of that court, and labouring to prove that "the aristocracy and monarchy were subordinate and subject" to it, he says—"Notwithstanding the power which, by the theory of the constitution, is thus reserved to the popular part of the system, all power has centered in the court of directors; and the government and the company have been an oligarchy in point of fact. So far from meddling too much, the court of proprietors has not attended to the common affairs, even sufficiently for the business of inspection." That the honourable court has not improved since this likeness was drawn, you will believe, when I tell you, that at a recent meeting, the members allowed themselves to be told by one of the directors, that their business was *not*, to call for papers or to inquire into the acts of the court above, but, to receive their dividends, and leave other matters to their superiors. On that occasion, not a murmur, not a word of dissent was heard. The law was taken from the lips of the director with mute submission, and the constituency stood rebuked in the presence of their haughty representative. Little, therefore, can be looked for from men, who, having long lost sight of their duties, have at last suffered their own rights to be taken away, and can now calmly submit to be told by their elected servants, that they have no right to look into their own affairs. Alas! for the people of India, while their destinies are in hands like these. It is impossible, sirs, to attend a meeting of the court of proprietors, with a mind suitably affected by the consideration of the vast magnitude and importance of the interests connected with our empire in the East, and there to mark the character of the debates, the reception which certain great questions meet with, and the votes that are given, without deeply lamenting the situation of

from correcting malversation with regard to the high trust vested in the company, is the very thing which at once gives a title, and imposes on us a duty to interfere with effect, wherever power and authority originating from ourselves are perverted from their purposes, and become instruments of wrong and violence. If parliament, sir, had nothing to do with this charter, we might have some sort of epicurean excuse to stand aloof, indifferent spectators of what passes in the company's name in India and in London. But if we are the very cause of the evil, we are in a special manner engaged to the redress: and for us passively to bear with oppressions committed under the sanction of our own authority, is in truth and reason for this house to be an active accomplice in the abuse. That the power, notoriously, grossly abused, has been bought from us, is very certain. But this circumstance, which is urged against the bill, becomes an additional motive for our interference, lest we should be thought to have sold the blood of millions of men for the base consideration of money. We sold, I admit, all that we had to sell; that is, our authority, not our control. We had not a right to make a market of our duties."

It is notorious, however, that the parliament, like the East India proprietors, have failed in their duty to their possessions in the East. So far from being impressed with a sense of their value and importance, our legislators have appeared to regard them as almost below their serious notice. The experience of more than fifty years has shown, that the most insignificant topic of a local, temporary, or personal character, has a better chance of securing the attention and consideration of the legislature, than the condition and claims of a dominion as extensive as Europe, with a population comprising a sixth part of the inhabitants of the globe. The very best informed on parliamentary matters, are perfectly aware that this is the painful fact. Never was the disregard of Indian affairs more conspicuous, than during the debates which took place on the granting of the last charter. Do you ask, when will it be otherwise? I answer, when you, the people of England, open your eyes to the value of this empire, to the responsibility of your position, and the solemn duty which your distant dominion imposes upon you; when you show your determination to explore its vast resources, and cultivate a kindly and advantageous intercourse with its wretched inhabitants; when you enter with vigour upon the prosecution of that honourable and extensive commerce with the East to which you have been so long invited, but in vain. Then will this forgotten empire become visible to the optics of honourable and right honourable legislators; then will they begin, with eager and wondering eyes, to measure its length and its breadth; then will they enter into nice computations and comparisons respecting its imports and exports, its produce and capacity; then will India no longer be a bore and a bugbear, but, what it really is, and ought to be, a subject claiming the profoundest study, and an empire worthy the loftiest eloquence which orators can display, and the wisest consideration which statesmen can bestow.

If then, we find this mighty empire at present neglected alike by the East India Company and the parliament, what shall be done? Shall we abandon to their fate scores of millions of our fellow subjects? Shall we leave a people ignorant of their political rights, and helpless because ignorant, the prey of insatiate tax gatherers, the victims of every experiment which their rulers may choose to make, to ascertain how far and how long they may extract wealth from a beggared people, in defiance of every principle of good government, and every law of the living God? Are we at liberty to turn a deaf ear to the piercing cry of distress wafted to us from the plains of Hindostan?

subject. Let me observe, that if I do not on this occasion cite written authorities in proof of all the statements I make, it is only because the time would fail me to do so, but that I hold myself prepared to substantiate, by evidence of the highest character, the truth and accuracy of all that I advance. In my published address it will be seen that I am in the habit of furnishing abundant testimonies.

The condition of India!—Look at the circumstances of the people, impoverished almost to the lowest possible degree. The ranks of society, as nearly as can be, levelled. Princes deposed—nobles degraded—landed proprietors annihilated—the middle classes absorbed—the cultivators ruined—great cities turned into farm villages—villages deserted and in ruins—mendicancy, gang robbery, and rebellion increasing in every direction. This is no exaggerated picture. This is the state and the present state of India. Some of the finest tracts of land have been forsaken, and given up to the untamed beasts of the jungle. The motives to industry have been destroyed. The soil seems to lie under a curse. Instead of yielding abundance for the wants of its own population, and the inhabitants of other regions, it does not keep in existence its own children. It becomes the burying place of millions, who die upon its bosom, crying for bread. In proof of this, turn your eyes backward upon the scenes of the past year. Go with me into the north-western provinces of the Bengal presidency, and I will show you the bleaching skeletons of five hundred thousand human beings, who perished of hunger in the space of a few short months: yes, died of hunger in what has been justly called the granary of the world! Bear with me, if I speak of the scenes which were exhibited during the prevalence of this famine. The air for miles was poisoned by the effluvia emitted from the putrescent bodies of the dead. The rivers were choked with the corpses thrown into their channels. Mothers cast their little ones beneath the rolling waves, because they would not see them draw their last gasp, and feel them stiffen in their arms. The English in the city were prevented from taking their customary evening drives. Jackals and vultures approached, and fastened upon the bodies of men, women, and children, before life was extinct. Madness, disease, despair, stalked abroad, and no human power present to arrest their progress. *It was the carnival of death!* And this occurred in British India—in the reign of Victoria the First! Nor was the event extraordinary and unforeseen. Far from it: 1835-36 witnessed a famine in the northern provinces: 1833 beheld one to the eastward. 1822-23 saw one in the Deccan. They have continued to increase in frequency and extent under our sway for more than half a century. Under the administration of Lord Clive, a famine in the Bengal provinces swept off three millions; and at that time the British speculators in India had their granaries filled to repletion with corn. Horrid monopoly of the necessaries of life! Thus three millions died while there was food enough, and to spare, locked up in the storehouses of the rich!

An eloquent writer in the *Edinburgh Review* has thus described this event:—

“In the summer of 1770, the rains failed; the earth was parched up; the tanks were empty; the rivers shrank within their beds; a famine, such as is known only in countries where every household depends for support on its own little patch of cultivation, filled the whole valley of the Ganges with misery and death. Tender and delicate women, whose veils had never been lifted before the public gaze, came forth from the inner chambers in which Eastern jealousy

beings? Are you not exalted for that very purpose? Is there not for nations as well as individuals a day of probation, and a day of retribution? And, if we abuse our privileges, as surely as Rome, and Carthage, and Nineveh, and Tyre have sunk, and the richest maritime cities have become wretched villages, where the fisherman hangs his nets, so surely shall this land, now first among the nations of the world, be forgotten, or if remembered, remembered only to be infamous, if she stretches not forth the sceptre of mercy instead of the rod of oppression, and delivers not mankind from thralldom instead of binding them down in slavery. Avert, I beseech you, if you can, the recurrence of such appalling events. Even while I am speaking, a famine is desolating another of the provinces of India.

Do you ask, why this wholesale destruction of human life? I reply, and while I do so, I am fully aware of the nature of the accusation I bring against the government of India, at home and abroad, and am ready to sustain it—because the people have been virtually robbed of their soil—deprived of the fruits of their industry—prevented from accumulating the means of meeting a period of drought, and are thus doomed to death, should the earth refuse, for a single season, to yield its increase. Our government (says one of the highest authorities) has been practically one of the most extortionate and oppressive that ever existed; and a committee of the House of Commons has declared that our revenue system in India, is one of habitual extortion and injustice, leaving nothing to the cultivator but what he is able to secure by *evasion* and *fraud*. Can any evidence be required, more conclusive, in proof of the ruinous nature of our administration, than is furnished by the fact, that famines are becoming almost general, and that they are sweeping off their victims by hundreds of thousands—and that these famines occur in the most fertile districts of the globe, and during a period of profound internal peace? The master evil of the present system in India is the *land tax*. The government has made itself *de facto* the *universal landlord*—has assumed the right to tax the soil to any extent—has fixed an assumed capability on every field of produce—then, an assumed price on the produce of the field—and then fixed, that from thirty-five to forty-five per cent. of the money value of the crop, shall be the tax to the state for ever—and, if the cultivator should lay out his money in the improvement, in any way, of the land under his management, the government claims the right of making a *new* assessment, in proportion to the assumed increased value of the crop. This is the unnatural system of the government in India—a system under which

— all life dies, death lives, and nature breeds
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, unutterable.

The results of this system have appeared in a thousand afflicting forms. Rural industry has been crushed—enterprise has been rendered profitless—cultivated lands, overburthened by taxation, have been abandoned—the revenue has declined—the prosperity of the country has been undermined at its foundations—property has gone on deteriorating, until estates have been sold for less than the amount of one year's taxes. Mr. Rickards informs us that the land owners of Malabar offered their estates to the government, on condition of their receiving a bare subsistence of rice and curry in return. If the prin-

without any anxiety, in the consciousness of these lands being their property; and of their being able to leave them behind for the future subsistence of their families, these men are now, all at once, put out of them by the mere stroke of the pen of a stripling officer, who perhaps passes sentence with no other object in view than to make a display of his zeal for the interests of his honourable employers, or to obtain a lift in their service. Now, speaking politically, what government can depend upon the security of its country, when its east, its west, and its north are choked with the smell of powder, and whilst its very allies are, from dissatisfaction, sending out emissaries to seek protection from its enemies, and its subjects are everywhere cherishing the deepest discontent? Any helping hand, then, which any of you may be able to hold out to avert the evils under which the natives are groaning, will be regarded as an everlasting obligation conferred on India."

Only a very short time before coming to this meeting, on looking over a file of Bombay papers, by the last arrival, I find an editorial article extracted from the *Agra Journal*, so entirely corroborative of the view I have taken, and so encouraging in reference to the work upon which I have entered, that I shall offer no apology for laying it before you. The article was occasioned by the arrival in India of the account of a meeting held in Glasgow, upon this subject, in January last.

"THE GLASGOW PUBLIC MEETING.—Want of space has prevented us from taking earlier notice of the Meeting, held by the citizens of Glasgow, on the 15th January, in behalf of the natives of this country; and the same cause precludes insertion of the resolutions entered into on that occasion; they have already appeared in the public prints.

"Always regarding discussions of this nature favourably, we look upon the proceedings of this meeting particularly, as *pregnant with the most beneficial consequences*; not, however, from the expectation that either the British Parliament or the Court of Directors *will lend an attentive ear to its benevolent appeal*. But we think, that the attention drawn by the leading men of influential cities, to India and Indian affairs, is well calculated to rouse the public mind, and to excite a spirit of inquiry on matters involving the best interests of the British Empire in the East. The strong array of facts which the resolutions embody, cannot fail in enlisting the better feelings of the people of Scotland in favour of the long neglected natives of this country; and it is high time that the lamentable apathy with which their welfare has hitherto been regarded were removed, and active measures taken to secure to them a tithe of those privileges which are elsewhere the inheritance of British subjects.

"Whatever may be the opinion of others to the contrary, a careful examination of the present condition of the natives in these provinces, has convinced us that much of the misery and depression under which they suffer, is attributable to the erroneous political system by which they have hitherto been governed. It has repeatedly been asserted that India is not surpassed by any country in fertility of soil; yet it is no less true that she has become "too expensive to govern," that her revenues are yearly decreasing, her wealth and resources being gradually dried up, and whole tracts depopulated from want of the common necessities of life. We do not assert that the famine and its fearful ravages, which have caused the cry of human misery to reach the ear, and excite the sympathies of Britain, are chargeable to the rulers of the country; we would rather endeavour to point out some of the *glaring evils under which the natives labour, and we would then leave it to our British friends to determine whether, supposing they had to contend against such a system, poverty and misery would then be less felt, or the ravages of famine be less frequent*.

"The land tax exacted by government as the holder or lord of the soil, we consider to be the most fruitful source of the accumulating evils that oppress the country. It is well known that no native can possess freehold property in the soil, which he may improve or alienate at pleasure, and there are consequently no country gentlemen or independent landlords. A policy which constitutes the government farmer-general of the soil, and which causes it to look to that source alone for the support of its ever increasing establishments, carries within itself the seeds of oppression and ruin, cuts off all interest and association between the soil and its children, stifles industry, takes away every motive to exertion,

canals, and other facilities for internal communication, I have the authority of one of the very best informed writers upon Indian subjects, for saying, that when the East India Company was called upon, during the last parliamentary examination, to show what public works they had erected during the twenty years of their charter, it appeared that the whole sum expended in civil and military labours, over the entire face of the country, did not equal what has been expended upon the railway between here and Liverpool. No wonder then that agriculture languishes, and commerce too. What shall we say of the manufactures of the country? They have dwindled and decayed. The matchless muslins of Dacca, the rich brocades of Benares—these have ceased to be in demand, and ceased to be fabricated. The external commerce of the country, inwards and outwards, taken at ten millions, only amounts to one rupee, or two shillings per head. The poverty of the people in these districts is almost beyond conception. Numbers of the cultivators get but one meal a day, and that but a scanty one; while some are actually obliged to eke out their food by gathering wild herbs and weeds. The Hon. Mr. Shore says—

“With respect to the poverty of the people:—We have heard so much of the blessings of the British government, and the wealth which the people have accumulated, while reposing under its beneficent shadow, that some of my readers will probably sneer at the mention of poverty. It is nevertheless true. Each district of the Bengal presidency averages about a million of inhabitants; yet, in each there are not, on the average, fifty men among the carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, jewellers, boat-builders, and other artificers, who could undertake to perform a piece of work to the value of fifty rupees, without receiving an advance in cash to procure the necessary materials; and this is a fact well known to all merchants and others, who have ever had occasion to build a house, or construct any work or machine. What should we think of the wealth and prosperity of England, if there were not fifty artificers out of every million of population, who could not engage to perform a work to the value of fifty pounds, without receiving an advance of money? It is precisely the same in the cultivation of the soil. The land is subdivided into small portions, each tilled by its respective owner, who has his own plough and bullocks; nineteen-twentieths of these are so poor, that without periodical advances at every harvest, to procure seed, and food to live on till the crop is ripe, they would not be able to cultivate at all.”

Take the testimony of a foreigner, the Rev. Howard Malcolm, of Boston, U. S.

“Feb. 1837. A more beautiful country than that from Cuddalore to Tanjore (Madras) cannot possibly be imagined. The dense population and rich soil give their energies to each other, and produce a scene of surpassing loveliness; *but the taxes and other causes keep down the labourers to a state below that of our Southern slaves.*”

Oh, when shall we cease to furnish occasion for such taunts as these? When shall the proud pro-slavery American be prevented from spying out the nakedness of the land, and finding some apology for his own slave system—the vilest under the blue canopy of heaven—in the condition of our tax-ridden fellow-subjects on the fertile but mismanaged plains of India? Oh, that such rebukes may sting us to the performance of our duty! Let us make haste to do justice to India, and our reverend author shall no longer be able to talk of famishing Hindoos or “Southern slaves,” for the prosperity of the one shall be the freedom of the other.

“The government share of rice crops is, on an average, about 50 per cent. But the mode of collection (in money) causes the cultivator to pay about three-

by foreign supplies; the production and sale of the absolute necessities of life monopolised by the rulers of the country; the administration of justice a bye-word and subject of derision; stripping functionaries from another land placed over them, filled with the pride and insolence of office, and the aristocracy of the skin; their institutions invaded and broken up; their pilgrims to the Ganges (till recently) taxed on the road; their ancient public works suffered to crumble into dust, and their persons and pretensions treated with systematic and inextinguishable contempt. Such being the state of things, will you wonder to be told that the people do not love us? Do you not rather wonder that six hundred and seventy-four civilians, and thirty thousand British troops are able to retain the country, and work all the mischief and ruin I have described? Can you be surprised if they feel towards Britain as the poet has described?

"Full half a century has pass'd away,
And never, never, in one Indian soul,
Of all the millions crushed by our controul,
Hath love, hath gratitude for aught that's dear,
Stirred towards thee, or any thought but fear.
We live among them like a walking blight,
Our very name the watchword of affright;
No sympathy, no pity, no remorse,
Our end is profit and our means are force."

"It may be doubted (says a Company's servant) if at any time since we first occupied territory in India, such deep and dangerous disaffection has prevailed, as exists at present."

"By depriving the community of their rights, (says another) we have engendered crime, misery, and revolt; and every fresh inroad on the municipalities loosens our hold on the affections of the people, and hastens our downfall."

"Such is the insecurity of our tenure of India, (says Sir Charles Metcalf) that I should not be the least surprised to awake some morning and find the whole thing blown up."

"I repeat it, (says Mr. Dickens, the Registrar of the Supreme Court at Bengal) terror and distrust extensively prevail among the people of this country, and if these feelings subside into the certainty that there is no hope, that will but generate other feelings which a rooted sense of wrong can never fail to produce."

"We talk (says Dwarkanauth Tagore, a worthy Brahmin, 'the most remarkable man in India, of his nation') of the tyranny of the Mahomedan government; but what are the English doing? They are taking away from us all that the benevolence of the Mahomedans had given us. The just, the liberal, the enlightened English are depriving us of all that a tyrannical, bigoted, semi-barbarian's government bestowed. Is this the boasted justice and liberality of our rulers?"

Who does not feel these sarcasms, so richly deserved, bring a blush upon his cheek!

"We are (says Mr. Shore) abhorred by the people, who would hail with joy, and instantly join, the standard of any power they thought strong enough to occasion our downfall."

Finally, on this part of the subject, Mr. Adam says:—

"The people would change masters to-morrow, without a struggle and without a sigh."

Every one of the authorities I have quoted is, or has been, a servant of the East India Company, and every one of them, save one, is now living. Westmacott, the political agent; Metcalf, formerly the acting governor-general, and now the governor of Jamaica; the

India—then I have not laboured in vain, nor spent my strength for nought—then I am rewarded—richly rewarded for any exertions I have been privileged to make in this cause. Permit me to indulge the hope that it may be so : and receive my assurance that, while you are willing to cheer me on, I will not be found reluctant to toil—it will be my delight, as it will be my duty, publicly and privately, in season and out of season, to co-operate with you in working out the temporal deliverance of an injured people—while we look with humble confidence to Him who is the friend of the desolate and afflicted, and the patron of every good and righteous enterprise. I have done.

END OF THE SECOND LECTURE.

again, the crying necessities of that people impose upon us an obligation to render them relief, and to render that relief promptly and efficiently. I have called your attention to the poverty of the people, especially to the famines that are periodically desolating that fertile region. On a former evening, I endeavoured to draw a picture of the scenes of misery and starvation presented in that country during the previous year; and since that occasion my eye has fallen on the following fact:—The English magistrate at Agra, the capital of North Bengal, states in his official return (*Bombay Times*, June, 1839), that “one hundred and forty-four children have been carried off by wolves, subsequent to the famine,” so completely had the famine annihilated every thing eatable in the country, but the children that were left to the survivors. Our ability to modify or ameliorate the character of the Indian government, and to improve the condition of that unhappy people, imposes upon us the most sacred obligation to interfere on their behalf. I have on other occasions spoken of the constitution of the East India Company: I have shown you that the people of this kingdom have handed over, to a joint stock company, the government of a hundred millions of human beings: I have endeavoured to demonstrate that they have not by so doing given up their power to control the East India Company; on the contrary, they have created an obligation—an obligation most solemn—which at their peril they lose sight of, to look most strictly and unceasingly into the manner in which that joint stock company administers the affairs of India, lest, in the language of the celebrated Edmund Burke, the blood of millions be required at their hands, and it be found that they have bartered away, for the base consideration of money, the liberties and happiness of countless millions of the human race. I have shown you that you are authorized to interfere; that you have a constant right of appeal to the imperial parliament; that there is in that omnipotent body an abiding power to make laws for India, or to repeal laws, or to modify laws, as though no charter act had ever been granted to the East India Company; and that you are not therefore impertinently, and certainly not unnecessarily, interfering in the affairs of that distant empire, when you meet, as you now meet, in public meetings for the purpose of considering the condition of that country, and of recommending to the legislature of your native land the exercise of that power and that prerogative, which they never have given up, which they never can give up, and which they cannot lose sight of, without disgrace to themselves, and serious disaster to the people so neglected.

Our duty, too, rests upon another foundation—our *obligations* to India. Owe we nothing to that country? Is it nothing to have drawn from that country, during fifty years, the almost incredible sum of a thousand millions sterling? Is it nothing to have an empire, as large as Europe, which costs us nothing? The army sustained by the natives—every salary paid by them—every pension charged upon them—every allowance and assignment and dividend drawn from the hard earnings of an impoverished and all but exhausted people? Then consider the money annually remitted to this country. Between two and three millions are drawn, and publicly accounted for, and appropriated to the division of dividends among the proprietors, to the payment of salaries here, and the paying off the interest of an accumulated debt. Then consider the posts of honor, trust, and emolument

mendicancy, by the successful competition of our manufactures exported from this country, and carried into those markets which they once supplied. I blame not this country for this : there is no occasion to lament it for the future, if we will be just to that land. Summon up the spirit that is there ; release them from the tyranny to which they are now subjected ; send them into a field uncursed by a ruinous land-tax, and allow them to sit under their own vine and fig tree, none daring to make them afraid : then, while they reap a bountiful harvest, and send it to our shores, and are thereby made rich, we will send them back the vegetable substance they have reared, in the shape of manufactured articles, and thus our advantages shall be reciprocal, and our joy shall be one.

I infer our duty to interfere, from our *ability* to do them good. Were our tears hopeless ones—were our regrets all vain—I might be accused of wasting your time ; and even then I should be far better occupied than in discoursing upon the thousand and one other topics that are aloof from our every day interests, and which come not home to the affections ; the discussion of which does not edify the moral feelings ; but happily we are able to do them good ; we can do them good, by adopting liberal and just commercial principles ; we can do them good, by the exercise of the omnipotent political power which heaven permits us to exercise, on their behalf ; we can do them good, by presenting them with that knowledge which they require, and by humbling ourselves to receive from them that knowledge which, sunken as they are, they are not impotent to give us. We can give them institutions that they need—and, by doing this, we can display at once our power and our mercy—and our power in our mercy ; and preserve a kingdom by kindness which we are likely to lose by coercion. I wish I could impress this upon my countrymen—would that I could make them feel at once their duty to do good to India, and their ability, which creates their duty.

“ Britain ! thy voice can bid the dawn ascend ;
On thee alone the eyes of Asia bend.
High Arbitress ! to thee her hopes are given,
Sole pledge of bliss, and delegate of Heaven ;
In thy dread mantle all her fates repose,
Or big with blessings, or o’ercast with woes ;
And future ages shall thy mandate keep,
Smile at thy touch, or at thy bidding weep.
Oh ! to thy god-like destiny arise !
Awake and meet the purpose of the skies !
Wide as thy sceptre waves, let India learn,
What virtues round the shrine of empire burn.”

Having said so much in reference to our duty in this matter, I proceed to consider the advantages to be derived from pursuing the course which our duty prescribes. I know that many who hear me will think that this is a needless undertaking. They know, they feel that to do right is to do well—that honesty is the best policy—that an adherence to the laws of nature in trade and in commerce, as well as in other matters, is always the safest, the wisest, and the best course. But still, it may be advantageous to discuss this principle in detail ; to show that our *duty* and our *interest* go hand in hand on this question—that they are interwoven and inseparable—that to bless India is to enrich, to strengthen, to exalt ourselves—that, if in this field we *scatter*, we shall assuredly *increase*—that we shall realize the truth of that

18. Hemp and Flax, 2,000,000 cwts., at 20s. per cwt.	2,000,000
19. Vegetable Oils, 6,000,000 gallons, at 1s. per gallon	300,000
20. Hides, 400,000 cwts., at 36s. per cwt.	720,000
21. Skins, untanned or dressed, No. 4,000,000, at 6d. each	100,000
22. Linseed, 3,500,000 bushels, at 30s. per qr.	600,000
23. Tallow, 1,000,000 cwts., at 20s. per cwt.	1,000,000
24. Dye Woods, &c., official value	500,000
25. Drugs and Gums, ditto	500,000
26. Sundries	1,000,000

Total.....£34,720,000

The total value of these and other tropical productions imported is, you perceive, £34,720,000, of which we receive from India to the value of £4,500,000. Now, I heard it stated in the Court of Proprietors, that all of these articles could be obtained of first-rate quality, and to an indefinite extent from India, and the statement was not denied by any individual in the Court, although the principal part of the directors, and a large number of the proprietors, were present. Now, let us see what proportion is obtained from British India.

"Of 40,500,000 cwts. of sugar imported into the United Kingdom, British India, including Ceylon, contributes but 200,000 cwts., not half the quantity which the small island of Mauritius exports, and only equal in quantity to the exports of St. Vincent, which is but 18 miles long by 10 broad.

"Of 500,000 cwts. molasses imported, British India and Ceylon send but 30 cwts.

"Of 5,000,000 gallons of rum imported, British India and Ceylon contribute 40,000 gallons.

"Of 40,000,000 lbs. of coffee, British India and Ceylon send but 9,000,000 lbs.

"Of 400,000,000 lbs. of cotton, British India and Ceylon send but 50,000,000 lbs.

"Of 50,000,000 lbs. tobacco, British India and Ceylon send but 50,000 lbs.

"Of 40,000,000 lbs. tea, British India sends a few hundred weight, although the leaf grows spontaneously, and may be cultivated to any extent.

"Of 3,000,000 lbs. of cocoa, British India sends none to England.

"Of 6,000,000 lbs. of silk, British India sends 1,500,000 lbs., and that exportation is owing to the East India Company.

"Of 60,000,000 lbs. of sheep's wool, British India sends but 1,000,000 lbs.

"Of 2,000,000 cwts. of flax and hemp, British India sends but 20,000 cwts.

"Of 3,500,000 bushels of linseed, British India sends but 300,000 bushels, although it is cheaper and better in Hindostan than in any other part of the world.

"Of 6,000,000 gallons vegetable oils, British India sends but 120,000 gallons.

"Of 400,000 cwts. of hides, British India sends but 40,000 cwts.

"Of 1,000,000 cwts. of tallow, British India sends only 500 cwts.

"Of 600,000 lbs. of cochineal, British India sends but 200 lbs.

"Of 14,000 loads of the celebrated teak wood which England imports, British India, which abounds with it, sends but 300 loads; the remainder is furnished by the negroes of Western Africa."

From a statement recently drawn up, and approaching, I believe, to accuracy, it appears, that in consequence of neglecting India and preferring other parts of the world, in almost all of which labour is obtained from slaves, we entail upon ourselves, in the shape of an extra cost, the following loss, viz :—

" On Sugar	£5,656,800
" Cotton	8,151,679
" Silk	1,800,000
" Rum	249,353
" Coffee	774,998
" Tobacco	1,040,625
" Linseed	514,286
" Flax	2,216,160

£20,403,901

Exclusive of Rice, Indigo, Oils, Dyes, Hemp, Drugs, &c.

tion the exclusive topic of a lecture. You see, however, that, according to the calculations I have quoted, from which you may make any fair deduction, that we are amongst the most powerful and munificent upholders of slavery and the slave trade. Is it not humiliating, is it not deeply distressing to reflect, that so large an amount of the money, mechanical skill, physical energy, and manufacturing enterprize of Great Britain, are employed in the support of systems so utterly opposed to the precepts of Christianity, and to the laws, the constitution, and the genius of the people of this country? In vain the spirit of philanthropy is displayed, while the principles of our commerce thus stand in an antagonist position. Could we get our commerce placed upon sound principles—could we get men to look to Africa, where the free negro would grow cotton and sugar upon his native soil, instead of to America, where the negro toils in slavery, upon a land to which he is a stranger, and amongst a people by whom he is abhorred—or, could we get the attention of our merchants turned to the plains of India, and the banks of the Ganges, where men, by millions, wait to be employed in the grateful task of raising from a fertile soil those fruits of a tropical climate which have become articles of necessity amongst us, we should effect, in the condition of millions of men in three quarters of the globe, one of the most happy and glorious revolutions ever witnessed in the history of the species. O, that men would cease to act on false doctrines! that they would suffer the voice of mercy to call them back to the simple and life-giving principles of a political economy, founded upon a just acquaintance with the constitution of man, and the great laws which should regulate commercial intercourse! Now, if it be true that we lose twenty millions of money annually by consuming the produce of other countries, in preference to the produce of India, then we annually sacrifice more than the whole revenue derived from India; for, by the last returns, it appears that their gross revenue is only eighteen millions, fifty-eight thousand four hundred and twelve pounds sterling. Then, again, look at the shipping of England; will it be believed that, trading with that immense country during the year 1838, there were only 321 ships—I speak of this country and India; while at the port of Stockton-on-Tees, the amount of shipping in the same year amounted to 8027! Is there a parallel to this folly, this infatuation, this wickedness, in the world? If these facts were not demonstrable by figures, would it be believed that we were shutting our eyes all the day long to the value of this country, not only in a commercial, but in a moral point of view; and fostering, at the expense of millions of pounds per annum, the vilest and the most oppressive system of slavery that ever was perpetrated under the sun? Why should we prefer New Orleans to Bombay? Are the merchants so much more honourable? Is their cotton so much more pure? Does it come to us unstained? In one sense it may; but in another sense it comes to us crimsoned with the blood of two millions of slaves! Why should we prefer Brazil to Madras or Bengal—our own territories? Is sugar so much better coming from the Spanish islands, where the masters are tyrants, and the people slaves, than coming from our own territories, grown and cultivated by millions of free-men? Sirs, the misery entailed, the crime committed, the extent to which righteous principles are violated by our present system, cannot be computed. I come, however, to that branch of the subject most interesting to the public of this most populous and

England has been immemorially famous for its wool, of which it produced abundance before any woollens, except of the coarsest kind, were made here; the wool was then chiefly exported to Flanders, where that manufacture was in an extremely flourishing state. Manchester was the seat of the woollen manufacture as early as the reign of Edward II."

Then, in reference to the circumstance of their being called cottons, he says—"The application of the term 'cottons' to a woollen manufacture is also expressly mentioned by Camden, who, speaking of Manchester in 1590, says, "This town excels the towns immediately around it in handsomeness, populousness, woollen manufacture, market-place, church, and college; but did much more excel them in the last age, as well by the glory of its woollen cloths, which they call Manchester cottons, as by the privilege of sanctuary, which the authority of parliament, under Henry VIII. transferred to Chester." Then he says—"It is not a little singular that a manufacture, destined afterwards to eclipse not merely 'the glory' of the old 'Manchester cottons,' but that of all other manufactures, should thus have existed in name long before it existed at all in fact. It has been conjectured, that the word 'cottons' was a corruption of 'coatings;' but it is very evident that the name was adopted from foreign cottons, which, being fustians and other heavy goods, were imitated in woollen by our manufacturers." It is manifest, says Mr. Baines, that, in 1641, the cotton manufacture had become well established in Manchester. The spread of the manufacture, however, does not appear to have been very rapid.

In the present day, when "*Manchester men*" are regarded as merchant princes, it is amusing to look back to the middle of the 17th century, when a gang of Manchester chapmen used to take their merchandise upon pack horses, and make a circuit of the surrounding towns, bringing home sheep's wool for the makers of worsted yarn, and, when at home, participating in the ordinary labours of their servants.

Towards the latter end of the 17th century, and at the beginning of the 18th, there were considerable importations of Indian cotton goods, calicoes, muslins, and chintzes, and the consequence was a loud outcry amongst manufacturers, which prevailed with parliament to exclude them by heavy penalties. You will pardon me, perhaps, if I illustrate the spirit of this period by a reference to some curious extracts, from pamphlets published at the time, and furnished by Mr. Baines. This part of the lecture is not without its moral.

In 1678, a pamphlet was issued under the title of 'The Ancient Trades decayed and revived again.' Hear how the author weeps over the fallen fortunes of woollen fabrics in this country! On page 77, this author says:—

"This trade (the woollen) is very much hindered by our own people, who do wear many foreign commodities instead of our own, as may be instanced in many particulars, viz.:—instead of green sey, that was wont to be used for children's frocks, is now used painted and India-stained and striped calico; and instead of a perpetuana or shalloon to lyne men's coats with, is used sometimes a glazed calico, which in the whole is not above twelve-pence cheaper, and abundantly worse. And sometimes is used a Bangale, that is brought from India, both for lynyngs to coats, and for petticoats too; yet our English ware is better and cheaper than this, only it is thinner for the summer. To remedy this, it would be necessary to lay a very high impost upon all such commodities as these are, and that no calicoes or other sort of linen be suffered to be glazed."

The celebrated De Foe, the immortalised author of "*Robinson*"

find the imports of cotton in 1837 were, from America, 844,068 bales; Brazil, 116,256; East India, 145,105; Egypt, 39,234; and other sorts, 29,451; making a total of 1,174,114 bales.

Now, look back for a moment. In 1784, cotton from America was unknown. During that year an American vessel came into the port of Liverpool, and landed eight bags of cotton, calling it American cotton, and they were seized; it being utterly incredible that America should have sent cotton to this country; but, in 1834, just fifty years afterwards, we received from that same country 731,456 bales. You will perceive, then, that a large portion of our supply is from America, either from the United States or from Brazil. The East Indies do not send much more than Brazil, and only one-third as much as the United States of America. Now you well know how cotton is produced in the United States; that some six or seven hundred thousand human beings are kept constantly at work to grow it; and that they are slaves in the worst and most absolute sense of the word; that, to continue this trade, Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, are great slave-rearing states; and there is reason to believe, that, were it not for the encouragement given to the cultivation of this branch of industry by the very large and increasing demand of this country, and the extraordinary prices which our manufacturers are compelled to pay, slavery would decline, and soon become utterly extinct, throughout the whole of the United States of America. The cotton of Brazil is produced in precisely the same way. The empire of Brazil contains more than two millions of slaves, and the chief part of the slave trade between Africa and the continent of America is carried on with Brazil, the slaves being boldly imported into the commercial capital, Rio Janeiro. I, sirs, am not jealous of the greatness of America. God grant that she may remain great! I only wish that she may be as good as she is great; I only wish that her mercy may be commensurate with her power; I ask no more, than that she take her foot from the necks of her fellow-citizens; that she open her prison doors, and let the captives go free; that she reap her harvest, not by forced and uncompensated labour, but through the willing industry of remunerated men. Let her but free her slaves, and then welcome her cotton! welcome every unstained production that can be sent to us from the four quarters of the globe! Here we stand, in the centre of the ocean, and as freely as that ocean beats upon our shores, as freely as yonder fleecy clouds glide over our green country, as freely as the winds blow, as free as God is bountiful to all, and makes mutual interchange and mutual dependence the laws by which he governs this universe, so free do I desire the trade of America, and the trade of all other countries with this country to be. I only ask if the principles of their trade be righteous; and, if they be, God speed their commerce, and open wide, for ever, be our ports!

We are seeking, not only the improvement of India—our primary end—but the exaltation and prosperity of our country, by increasing its commercial intercourse with one of the most rich and promising portions of the earth. If, therefore, you aid this society to diffuse its information through the length and breadth of the land; if you aid me, as the organ of the British India Association, to bring out all the facts connected with this great question, whether they bear upon the institutions, the revenue, or the fiscal regulations of the country, the character of the people, or the peculiar constitution of their government, the time will come when the veil will be withdrawn which has

of those who now hear me, especially those who are farther advanced in years, who can well remember and testify to the texture and durability of the cottons and muslins of India. That India can grow more than is necessary for her own consumption is proved, not only by a reference to ancient authorities, but by statistics of a very recent date. In 1818, India exported to England and China alone, very nearly one hundred and forty millions of lbs. of cotton. In 1836, the exports from the whole of India were about two hundred millions of lbs. More than the one-third of the arable land of India is unoccupied. The soil for the cultivation of the indigenous cotton is spread over about two hundred thousand square miles; in many parts, the population amounts to from two hundred and fifty to two hundred and eighty on the square mile; and the pay of a day labourer from one penny to three-pence per day. There are also soils adapted to the growth of all other kinds of cotton. The seed carried from Barbadoes has been cultivated with tolerable success. The Bourbon cotton has been found to flourish on the experimental farms in the neighbourhood of Bombay, and at Malwan on the western coast. The cottons of America have been tried on various parts of the Coromandel coast, and the result has been most favourable. The province of Trichinopoly, which has refused to grow the indigenous cotton of the country, is now producing fine crops of New Orleans cotton. The Sea Island cotton has produced well in South Arcot. The cottons which have been grown on the western coast of the Malayan peninsula, and at Singapoer, have proved equal to the original growths of Pernambuco and Bourbon; while a sample from Sugar Island, close to the sea, resembled the true Sea Island so closely, that those who had been in the habit of using the latter article, declared the sample to be a very fine production. At Allahabad, Delhi, Hansi, and other parts of the northern provinces, where the soil is light and the climate dry, the New Orleans and upland Georgian cottons are thriving, and promise to yield equal to the parent stock.—Most of the information I have just given is derived from a very valuable pamphlet on cotton, by Major-General Briggs, who spent thirty-two years in India, traversed every part of the country, and made the soils and the cottons of the country his particular study. With regard to the capacity of India to produce cotton, General Briggs says:—

“With respect to the means India possesses for growing cotton, it is necessary to consider the extent of the country, the nature of its soil, its vast population, the description of their clothing, and the purposes to which cotton is applied, before we can have any conception of the great capabilities it has of supplying not only England, but the whole world, if necessary.”

And again he says:—

“We think enough has been said to show that there is neither want of cotton soil for the indigenous nor the American plant; and we may with confidence assert, as the knowledge of soils and climate becomes more and more studied and attended to, that India will prove capable of producing cotton of any quality, and to any extent.”

Take another authority, the Right Honourable Holt Mackenzie, a Company's servant in Bengal, who resided a very long time in India. This gentleman says:—

“India would not be found wanting in any essential requisite for the production of the best cotton. The vast extent to which cotton has long been grown,

"For the supply of the raw material we are almost wholly dependent, on foreign countries, whilst we have and possess in the British dominions in India, resources—were they encouraged and made available—sufficient to supply all we require, and to an increased extent if demanded—resources that are within our influence and control, and where the only limit to the consumption of British manufactures is the ability of the natives to pay for them; whilst we possess, at the same time the means to stimulate and increase our intercourse with safety and advantage to the empire at large."

Thomas Smith, Esq. who is not unknown to some of the gentlemen near me, bears testimony to the same effect. He says—

"That cotton of a very superior quality to the ordinary crop of India may be produced there, repeated evidence has been furnished by the fact, that for years past there have been occasional importations of small quantities grown from foreign seed, which have realised comparatively high prices, in some cases more than the price of good American."

Mr. Patrick, of the experimental farm at Akra, near Calcutta, in an official report which he has furnished on the subject, says:—

"I have no hesitation in saying, that the quality of the upland Georgian, grown at Akra, is fully equal, if not superior, to the best cotton of the same description grown in America. I had an excellent opportunity of forming a judgment of the comparative value of this cotton, having in the month of November received a quantity of what was called the very best upland Georgia cotton, direct from the United States, which was neither so fine in style, nor so good in general quality."

John Crawford, Esq., a high authority, says:—

"The soil and climate of India must not be blamed. They are equal in capacity to those of any other portion of the tropical world, and superior to the greater number."

Hear, too, what the *New York Circular* says—what the New York merchants think on this subject:—

"It is, however, advisable not to draw the cord too tight by these financial arrangements, [alluding to the plans in discussion for holding the coming crop of cotton, that find their birthplace in the brains of the confederated slaveholders of the southern states], lest by the attention of Great Britain being turned to the cultivation of cotton in India, from which, doubtless, exhaustless supplies can be obtained—we may be in danger of losing that market."

"Draw not the cord too tightly!" "I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word." Ay; it is written by the New York merchants—"Draw not the cord too tight!" Give it but a screw or twist too much, and the eyes of Britain may be turned to India, where, "doubtless, exhaustless supplies can be obtained." I hope they have given a screw too much; I hope that they have anointed our eyes, which have too long been turned the other way. Too long have we looked to the dark chambers of the West, where slaves sigh and the sun sets; and we have looked away from the bright chambers of the East, where the bright orb of day first looks upon the world he gladdens; and now it is high time to "awake to righteousness, and sin not."

If they can produce in quantity sufficient, what can they sell it for? That is another and an important question; one which, I dare say, Manchester men won't forget to ask. I believe I go upon good authority when I say, that the average price of cotton on the shores of America is ten cents per lb. What can it be grown for in India?

when we make over the lands either in very long leases, or in perpetuity, to the present occupants; and when we have convinced them, by making no assessment above the fixed rents for a series of years, that they are actually proprietors of the soil, *we shall see a demand for European articles of which we have at present no conception.*"

That distinguished and lamented prelate, Reginald Heber, says—

"The natives of India are just as desirous of accumulating wealth, as skillful in the means of acquiring it, and as prone to all its enjoyments, as any people on earth. It is the land-tax that confirms their unalterable poverty. If the channels of wealth were freely opened in India, luxuries would abound as in other countries. It is inconsistent with the laws of human nature to suppose otherwise."

And what says that well-known writer upon political economy, Mr. M'Culloch?—

"The principal obstacle in the way of extending the commerce with India, does not consist in any indisposition on the part of the natives to purchase our commodities, but in the difficulty under which they are placed, of furnishing equivalents for them."

And why cannot they furnish equivalents? Because of the blighting influence of that land-tax, of which Sir Thomas Munro, and the amiable Bishop Heber, have both spoken. What says Robert Rickards, Esq. one of the most enlightened friends that India ever had? His name is not unknown to those around me, inasmuch as he filled the situation of factory inspector in this district for several years before his death. In a speech before the House of Commons, in 1813, prior to the renewal of the charter, he said—

"Of all the Indians I have ever seen, none were deficient in the ordinary sensibilities of our nature, none indisposed to the enjoyments and comforts of life, when they had but the means of obtaining them. Their wants might not be precisely the same as those of Europeans; but if their circumstances allowed it, they would have new wants, which European capital, skill, and industry could best supply; and the various productions now raised, or capable of being raised, in their own country, which they would have to interchange with us, would afford means and commodities for trade, which might be carried to an indefinite extent, with incalculable advantage to Britain as well as to India."

And what says Kirkman Finlay, Esq. upon this subject?—

"Parents," says he, "would be proud to dress themselves and their children in our manufactured cottons. Were the natives of the East Indies to consume as much in proportion as the negroes of the West Indies, they would require more manufactured cotton than is now produced in all Great Britain."

Now, sirs, a word more, and I have done. It will not be within my power to-night to answer the question, "Why do we not obtain our cotton from India?" I shall content myself with showing—indeed, I think I have shown, but I leave you to judge—that there is no natural obstacle in the way; that we must seek the cause, not in the soil,—it is not barren; not in the absence of a labouring population,—there they dwell, two hundred and forty to the square mile, standing all the day idle, "because no man hath hired them"—not in the climate, which is genial,—not in consequence of the absence of the means of irrigation, which are at hand. I shall go into the hindrances, the fiscal and other hindrances, to obtaining a sufficient supply of cotton from India, when I next have the honour of addressing you.

But it may be well to look for a moment before we part, to the

in another way the gross injustice we have done to that country for many years. Not content with the partial system we have pursued towards our West Indian colonies,—free as we are, loving freedom as we do,—we are still, for some reason or another, (I shall not attempt to account for it,) prone to foster slavery rather than freedom. Oh, we have discouraged the free men who would have given us uncontaminated produce, unstained by tears or blood; and we have fostered those systems which depend altogether for their very existence, for their vital sap, upon the continuance of slavery. Now what would be the first effect of getting our cotton from India? Cheaper cotton, cheaper clothing; and is there no moral tendency in cheaper clothing? Does a man feel when he gets a good suit on his back, as he felt when he had a bad one? Does he skulk along, shunning the eyes of his fellow citizens? Does he avoid the sanctuary of the Deity, and crawl into the grog-shop with the beggar and the profligate? Does not the attiring of him in a suit of clothes, that allow him to compete in appearance with those around him, create a feeling of self-respect that lifts him up,—which causes him to walk abroad in the open day, not fearing to be seen, and takes him where the voice of wisdom can be heard, and keeps him from places where only the sounds of unhallowed merriment prevail? It is enough to say, that a careful man can get clothing now. Bring your clothing down to a certain price; make your cotton 2d. a lb. cheaper, and your manufactured goods in proportion; then the wife shall have a gown, and the artisan shall have a jacket. Till you do that, the wife will want the one, and the husband will want the other. Another good effect of the better system would be, that you would abolish slavery. And is that nothing? Is it nothing to speak liberty to millions? Is it nothing to give peace and security to a continent? Is it nothing to say from the market-place, to the American, that which he won't hear from the pulpit? Is it nothing to send out from Manchester, an irreversible and omnipotent decree, "Slavery shall fall; for cotton shall be cheap?" See you not your power? Feel you not your responsibility?

" Britain! the nations know thy voice;
 'Tis thine to make the awful choice;
 'Tis thine to bid the world rejoice;
 Or close the gates of liberty!"

I say unequivocally, and I have not been an unconcerned spectator of the anti-slavery career of this country for the last nine years—knowing, feeling, preaching, as I do, the omnipotence of moral power, yet, calculating the time which it will take to bring about an event, by the inculcation of purely moral principles, and the time it will take to bring about the abolition of such a system as this, by putting in motion, *pari passu* with every other effect, a principle of political economy, so simple, certain, and sure, that we may predicate with absolute confidence upon the result, calculating the time necessary in the one case, compared with the time necessary in the other,—I say, if the youngest amongst us here would live to see the downfall of Spanish, of Brazilian, and, worst of all, of American republican slavery,—you must seek to abolish it, not merely by your remonstrances, your "epistles," your reproaches, but, superadded to these, by your sound, your anti-slavery political economy. You would then be independent of the seasons; for you might have a large supply on hand. Whether

for India. I pleaded before for eight hundred thousand, I plead now for one hundred millions of human beings; nor for them alone. The battleground of freedom for the world is on the plains of Hindostan. Yes, my friends, do justice to India; wave *there* the sceptre of justice, and the rod of oppression falls from the hands of the slave-holder in America; and the slave, swelling beyond the measure of his chains, stands disenthralled, a free man, and an acknowledged brother. Think, then, of these things. India can give you all you want. India can take from you all that you have to give. Your political power can give her freedom; your encouragement will supply the necessary stimulus; your commerce will reward her industry; your manufactures will clothe and adorn her myriad population; and your religion will sanctify her, and save her from prostration before false deities, and train her to the worship of the living God. Then shall cease in India the desolations of the sword; then shall cease the pestilence of the plague and of famine; then shall cease the darkness, the moral darkness, that now shrouds the otherwise brightest habitations of men; and the mild rule and just laws of England, transplanted to the shores of the East, shall give liberty to the captive, the opening of the prison to them that are bound, and cause the Hindoo, the Mussulman, and the Negro together, to rejoice in the clemency and the justice of the people of England.

END OF THE THIRD LECTURE.

field for benevolent exertion. I do not, I need not hesitate to declare, that I am influenced less by a desire to see India made a source of wealth to this country, than to see this country made a blessing to India. I would be the instrument, if I might be so honoured, of awakening my fellow citizens to a just sense of their responsibility to the countless multitude, of whose destinies they are at present the arbiters. I would direct them, not so much to the riches which lie beneath the surface of the soil, as to the immortal beings who dwell upon that soil. I feel that every addition made to our national territory, every accession to the number of our fellow-subjects, increases, in exact proportion to the extent of that territory and the number of those immortal beings, our responsibility to that God who is the King of kings, and the Ruler of the nations of the earth. I believe that all who are governed in the name of Great Britain ought to feel the benign influence of her religion and her laws. I am anxious for the exaltation of our national character—not so much by the splendour of our military achievements as by the mildness of our sway; the equity of our jurisprudence; the impartiality of our statutes; the humanity of our penal code; the incorrupt administration of public justice; the protection of the weak; the liberation of the enslaved; the instruction of the ignorant; the trampling under foot of every unholy and unfraternal prejudice;—in a word, by the exhibition of the Christian character—the acting out of the divine injunction, “all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.”

Sirs, it is not enough for me (if it were true) that we govern India better than those of her conquerors who bowed to the pale crescent of the false prophet, or those, their predecessors, who worshipped at the shrine of dumb idols. No: I cannot forget that we have a reputation to maintain; that we have another religion to illustrate; that we have higher privileges to embrace—higher duties to discharge. The God of this nation requires that we should act, not according to Mahomedan or pagan precepts, but according to the eternal law which he has given us, and in the spirit of the blessed Gospel whose holy light and civilising influence he has shed upon our native island. “Where much is given, much will be required.” If we would raise the Hindoo—if we would turn him from idols to the living God—if we would be instrumental in bestowing upon him that noblest and best of all titles, a *Christian*, we must ourselves be Christian rulers, and recommend the Master we profess to serve, by a close resemblance to him in conduct and conversation. Until this be the case, we need not wonder that we are a reproach among the heathen; that we contaminate them by our contact; for up to this moment, every one of us must blush to acknowledge, that the conduct of Europeans in every part of the world has been injurious, and not salutary, to the natives among whom they have sojourned.

I am led to make these remarks, previous to resuming the discussion of the subject which engaged our attention on Thursday evening last, by the earnest desire which I feel that the great object of the British India Society, “the bettering of the condition of the people of India,” should be kept prominently and constantly before the public, and that the primary governing principle of my own conduct should be distinctly understood. Having done so, I return to consider the subject of our trade with British India in the article of cotton

the ripened fruit, are seen at the same time, the beauty of the plantation is, of course, still more remarkable than in America.

The *shrub cotton* grows in almost every country where the annual herbaceous cotton is found. Its duration varies according to the climate. In some places, as in the West Indies, it is biennial or triennial; in others, as in India, Egypt, &c., it lasts from six to ten years. In the hottest countries it is perennial; and in the cooler countries which grow cotton, and in the United States, where the frost of the winter kills the plant, it becomes an annual. In appearance, the shrub has a considerable resemblance to the currant bush. The flower and fruit of the shrub cotton closely resemble those of the herbaceous cotton; but the pod is egg-shaped, not triangular and pointed. The shrub is planted in holes seven or eight feet apart; eight or ten seeds are deposited in each hole, but only one of the stems which they produce is allowed to remain. The shrubs require to be pruned, and the plantations to be well weeded; and they seldom continue to yield good cotton more than five or six years; but, in the hottest countries, two crops a year are gathered; one from October to December, and the other from February to April. The Guiana and Brazil cotton is of this kind.

The *tree cotton* grows in India, China, Egypt, the interior and western coast of Africa, and in some parts of America. As the tree only attains the height of twelve to twenty feet, it is difficult to distinguish the tree cotton and the shrub cotton, from the mention made of them by many travellers.

There is still another tree of very magnificent growth, attaining the height of a hundred feet, and with a peculiar spreading top, which bears a silky cotton of matchless softness, whiteness, and lustre, but of so short and brittle a fibre that it is unfit for spinning, and can only be used for the purpose of stuffing pillows and beds.

The cotton plant, in all its varieties, requires a dry and sandy soil. This is the uniform testimony of travellers and naturalists. Proximity to the sea is proved to be indispensable to the growth of the best cotton, by the experience of the planters of South Carolina and Georgia, who raise the finest cotton known, namely, the Sea Island, on the sandy coasts and low islands of the sea, and who find the same cotton degenerate in length of staple and in quality when grown inland. The Honourable Mr. Seabrook says:—"In proportion to the distance from the sea-board, and to the want of a free circulation of air from the south, is, in general, the downward graduated scale of coarseness in the cotton produced. These causes operate increasingly as you recede from the ocean, until a point is reached at which long cotton cannot be profitably cultivated." Again, he says:—"The cotton of Mr. Burden and his favoured associates is indebted for its celebrity to the combined requisites of fineness, strength, and evenness of fibre. Upon what principles are these distinguished properties dependent? Those planters use, not only extensively, but almost exclusively, *salt mud*. This manure is known to impart a healthful action to the cotton plant, to mature rapidly its fruit, and to produce a staple at once strong and silky."

For the cultivation of the best cotton there are two other requisites besides a sandy soil: proximity to the sea, and salt clay mud as manure. First, very great care is necessary in the selection of the seed; and, second, there must be diligence in weeding, pruning, and

is only the model; but it is in all respects, as regards the wood and the workmanship, an Indian hand-gin, and was brought from India. Now this gin, however expert the operators might be, would not clean, at the most, more than from forty to sixty-five pounds in a day. The long-stapled or Sea Island cotton is still separated from the seeds by rollers, constructed on a large scale, and worked by horses, steam, or other power. A mill of this kind will clean eight or nine hundred pounds of cotton in a day. The short-stapled American cotton is cleansed by a very different and much more rapid process, without the invention of which that species of cotton must have been much dearer than it now is; and, consequently, the cotton manufacture itself could not have attained its present extension. In 1793, Mr. Eli Whitney, of Westborough, in Massachusetts, invented the saw-gin, with which one man may cleanse three hundred weight of cotton in a day. The cotton is put into a receiver, or hopper, of considerable length, compared with its width, one side of which is formed by a grating of strong parallel wires, about the eighth of an inch apart. Close to the hopper is a wooden roller, having upon its surface a series of circular saws, an inch and a-half apart, which pass within the grating of the hopper to a certain depth. When the roller is turned, the teeth of the saws lay hold of the locks of cotton, and drag them through the wires, whilst the seeds are prevented, by their size, from passing through, and fall to the bottom of the receiver, when they are carried off by a spout. The cotton is afterwards swept away from the saws by a revolving cylindrical brush.

"The cotton plants of the new world, and the indigenous plant or plants of India," says an authority for whom I entertain a very high respect, Major-General Briggs, "have been discovered to be of entirely distinct species, different in their habits, and requiring different modes of treatment." This is a very important consideration in the discussion of the subject. He states, however, that "that which is produced on well-cultivated lands has a staple in nowise inferior in length, strength, or fineness, and even superior in colour to that of the Upland Georgia and New Orleans of America." This statement is supported by the evidence given on the subject before a committee of the House of Lords in 1830. From the digest of that evidence, we learn that some of the best Surat cotton is nearly as good in quality as Georgia; "that very clean Indian cotton would approach nearly to the price of American;" and that "Bombay cotton might be grown as good as Sea Island."

"The indigenous plant," continues General Briggs, "grows, for the most part, far in the interior of the country. The cotton of the Deccan and Berar has to travel by land from two hundred and fifty to three hundred miles before it reaches the port of Bombay. Cotton of the same growth has to travel to a great mart on the Ganges; also by a land route at least four hundred miles, whence it has to proceed seven hundred and fifty farther down the river to Calcutta, before it can be embarked there. A third route is from the southern Maratta country to the coast, a distance of two hundred miles, over a tremendous pass of the mountains, whence it has to be embarked and sent five hundred miles by sea to Bombay for shipment; and the last road of the cotton trade is a route of three hundred miles by land, from the tract lying north of the Krishna river, and in the fork between that river and the Toongbudin, ere it reaches the port of Madras."

General Briggs also states that, from an annual order of the Royal Asiatic Society, of several

that spun by hand, and with a little moisture, seemed to touch each other in almost every part; thereby making a stronger thread with the same quantity of cotton, and of much finer appearance, but not so even in its thickness.

Pardon me if I read a short extract, relative to that part of India where the cotton is grown, which makes the Dacca muslin. John Crawford, Esq. in his "History of the Indian Archipelago," says:—

"There is a fine variety of cotton in the neighbourhood of Dacca, from which I have reason to believe the fine muslins of Dacca are produced, and probably to the accidental discovery of it is to be attributed the rise of this singular manufacture: it is cultivated by the natives alone, not at all known in the English market, nor, as far as I am aware, in that of Calcutta. Its growth extends about forty miles along the banks of the Megna, and about three miles inland. I consulted Mr. Colebrook respecting the Dacca cotton, and had an opportunity of perusing the manuscripts of the late Dr. Roxburgh, which contain an account of it; he calls it a variety of the common herbaceous annual cotton of India, and states that it is longer in the staple, and affords the material from which the Dacca muslins have been always made."

I shall make no apology for going into these particulars, because I am desirous of making these lectures a medium for the communication of information, as well as for inculcating those great principles by which I hope we shall be ultimately able to better the condition of the natives, and to regenerate our Eastern empire; and as, through the very great consideration and kindness of a portion, at least, of the press of this town, I am enabled to send over this country and to America, and to India, the information I am giving to you, I am desirous of making it as solid and useful as possible. Therefore, if it is not so exciting and interesting as it otherwise might be, I trust that it will be estimated according to its utility beyond the precincts of the wall by which I am surrounded.

General Briggs proceeds to state, what I quoted in my last lecture, that in various parts of India there are soils suited to *all* the varieties of American cotton; and that, as the knowledge of soils and climate becomes more and more studied and attended to, *India will prove capable of producing cotton of any quality and to any extent.* In the digest of evidence before the House of Commons in 1830, it is stated, that "from experiments lately made, there is no doubt, that if good seed were procured, beautiful cotton might be produced abundantly." Again, that "India produces of itself every variety of cotton. The justly-celebrated Sea Island cotton is actually in cultivation in several places in India." A similar testimony is borne by Dr. Wallich, the superintendent of the botanical garden at Calcutta, in a letter to Mr. Tucker, dated 1828. He says:—

"That there is a sort of cotton, the produce of the West Indies, rather of Barbadoes, which has been cultivated with complete success in the company's territories, I can assert with confidence, because I am in possession of an extract of a general commercial letter from the court of directors, transmitted to me officially from the board of trade at Calcutta, in which it is pronounced equal, if not superior, to any kind procurable in the London market." Dr. W. adds, that in asserting the high capabilities of the company's territories for the growth of the finest cotton, "*experience*, and not theory, is the ground on which he has proceeded."

Having, then, again glanced at the capacity of India to produce cotton of every variety and of the very finest qualities, let us inquire what kinds of cotton we are in the habit of receiving from India at the

And this is the perfection of revenue legislation in India! And under this system (I speak within bounds) live fifty millions of our fellow-subjects! Is there an individual here who can conceive it possible for a people to prosper, and improve the fields around them, when they have no proprietary right in the soil—no long leases—no guaranteed possession, even for a year; when every effort to extend cultivation leads to an immediate additional assessment, without any regard to the capital they have expended; and the government demand, at the end of the harvest, is forty-five per cent. in money, according to a valuation, perhaps, when the produce brought double the amount of what it now brings in the market? Where men are in absolute personal slavery (as in the United States), to men of large capital, great energy, and who avail themselves with eagerness of every invention calculated to increase the productiveness of the soil, or the quality of the article grown upon it, there will be improvement, and, as nearly as may be attained, perfection. And where men have an interest in the ground they cultivate—where they are the owners, large or small—where the outlay of capital and the application of skill and energy are rewarded by the increased value of the property—which property they can transmit to their children, with the assurance that they may in peace and security enjoy it—there there will be industry, and perseverance, and improvement, and riches, and prosperity, and happiness. But where, as in the case of India, the government claims to be the sole and universal landlord; sweeps away from the face of the earth the hereditary and rightful proprietors; measures every field, and fixes a tax upon it, generally above its means of payment, even when the harvest is abundant; makes one man answerable for the delinquencies of another; imposes a new tax whenever there is the slightest suspicion of advancement; lays it down as a maxim that the cultivator should be kept in a dependent condition, and that there should be but two classes, the ruling few, and the oppressed many; where there is such a government, there will be wretchedness, and poverty, and a retrograde movement; and instead of the old waste places being built up, and the land becoming like a wheat garden, there will be desolation, barrenness, charcolnary desolation, and death.

And so it has been in those parts of India where the barbarous system I have spoken of has been in full operation for now more than thirty years. Immense tracts of land, where once the fields were in a high state of cultivation—where husbandmen once were seen waving to the breeze, and the air was fragrant with the drowsy tinkling of the flocks and herds, as they returned from their mountain pastures—such tracts of land have been abandoned, are now desolated, and rank weeds and impenetrable jungle cover the space which once reverberated the industry of the happy husbandman with a bounding herdsman. Well might Sir Thomas Munro, himself the father of this system, call this a "barbarous system." Well might the honorable Mr. Stansfeld tell the House of Commons in 1854, that, in the continuance of such a system, justice was disregarded, justice violated, humanity outraged, and Christianity ignored. And well might the House of Commons declare, that the whole system resulted itself from one of national extortion and oppression. Leaving the cultivator little more than what he is able to secure by evasions and fraud.

The system under which the people of India live, might have been improved to purposes to increase cultivation, to direct improvement, to

"By these acts of oppression, a greater mischief resulted than the person who occasioned it could have contemplated. He forgot, in his anxiety to squeeze from the ruined (ryot) the last rupee that he possessed in the world, the lamentable consequences which would inevitably ensue from such unjustifiable severity; happy in his ignorance, he fancied that by throwing the farmer into prison, and the land out of cultivation, the one, by some scheme of *legerdemain*, would coin rupees of the brick-walls of his dungeon, while the other would gain strength by a year or two of fallow. The first idea could as easily be realised as the second. The farmer, as a matter of course, grew poorer; while the land got choked with stunted brushwood, and a grass which nothing but years could eradicate."

In Doctor Spry's work, he describes in several parts, very vividly, the effects of this system, as he witnessed them in his travels through India. He came to villages utterly depopulated, where two or three tottering huts were all that remained of once happy and populous communities; and to spots where graves of cypresses were flourishing, with jungle spreading all around them; where once hundreds and thousands of husbandmen were seen tilling their fields, and supporting their happy families.

government. It is the unjust, and I must say, in my opinion, the *wicked* assumption of the right of proprietorship in the soil. It satisfies me not to tell me, that it is the practice of all Eastern countries to recognise the sovereign as landlord of the soil; to bestow the ownership on the conqueror, to whom the chance of war has given a wide dominion over millions of men, and hundreds and thousands of millions of acres,—to tell me that that man, by virtue of conquest by the sword, has become the master and ruler and proprietor of the soil. Before high heaven I deny his right. I proclaim it the robber's right. It is an assumed, an odious right,—an iniquitous and unlawful usurpation. What made us the proprietors of India? The sword of Wellington! He may have transferred to us the dominion once exercised by Mussulman rulers; but can the sword of Wellington obliterate the requirements of that law, written by the finger of God upon tables of stone? Is it not there written, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods?" Is it not there written, "Thou shalt not steal?" And covet I not,—steal I not,—when I grasp, with ruthless hand, a country, from one shore to the other, and claim that as *mine* which was received as a heaven-originated patrimony by the children of the soil? It is time, sirs, to vindicate the claims of the natives of India. It is right to proclaim it abroad, that, whatever their rulers may say, we, the people of England, deny that the soil of India is ours. Is it not enough to rule the people? Is it not enough to tax all they wear, and all they eat; all that adorns their persons and their houses? Is it not enough to tax the land they till—to take from them half the produce? Is not this enough? Must we go further still, and claim the fee-simple of the entire soil of India? A leading journal, the other day, in a laboured editorial article, claimed the right to do so. That which is morally wrong cannot be politically right. That which makes a man disreputable in private life, never can become right when done to satisfy corporate cupidity or associated wickedness. Let the British public look to this matter. Let them vindicate the claims of the disinherited people of India, the hundred millions of our fellow-subjects, who now look in vain for a patron and an advocate upon the soil on which they dwell!

I am anxious, however, to look a little closer at the cotton branch of this question. I have occupied your time, so far, in speaking of the oppression of a system which is destructive of the property of the country at large, and which impedes the growth of every thing good, whether of a commercial, agricultural, political, or social description. But, with regard to the peculiar hindrances in the way of obtaining a cheap and sufficient supply of good cotton, the Hon. Mr. Shore thus describes the condition of the cultivators:—

"The land is subdivided into small portions, each tilled by its respective owner, who has his own plough and bullocks; nineteen-twentieths of these are so poor, that, without periodical advances, at every harvest, to procure seed and food to live upon till the crop is ripe, they would not be able to cultivate at all."

"It is notorious," says the Right Hon. Holt Mackenzie, "that, in the rack-rented provinces, all who are connected with the land, endeavour to disguise any indication of the little wealth that is still left, and to assume the appearance of poverty. The general aspect of these provinces is the impoverishment of those connected with the land, as is sufficiently testified by the state of their habitations, and the mud huts which now form the residence of those who, but a few years ago, possessed comfortable houses."

hundreds of their carcasses are to be met with, just previous to the monsoon, strewed along the paths which they have traversed from the interior to Bombay.

"All this, however," says Mr. Ashburner, "may easily be improved. The natural and obvious remedy is a good road for wheel carriages; at present, nothing of the kind exists, over the greater portion of the route between the places above mentioned.

"The effects which improving the means of communication in this way would have upon the trade of Central India, are almost incalculable. The rude carts of the country, upon ordinary and very imperfect roads, lessen the cost of transportation in the proportion, as compared with bullocks, of two to seven, and admit at the same time of double the speed attainable by the latter.

"Were, therefore, the trade of Berar to remain stationary instead of improving, as it might very reasonably be expected to do, by the construction of a good road to the sea coast, the first effect of such a measure would be *to lessen the cost of transportation five-sevenths upon the amount of the produce sent to and from that and the neighbouring provinces*, which was last season estimated in round numbers at

Bullock Loads.	
Cotton.....	90,000
Salt	200,000
Total.....	290,000

"But, instead of estimating the probable saving of this immense traffic at five-sevenths, suppose, to be within bounds, that it is taken at only one-half. The result, allowing eight rupees as the average cost of transportation for a single bullock load, would be a reduction of expense of sixteen lacks of rupees per annum, or in round numbers of £160,000; and this, it is to be borne in mind, would be upon one route alone! At the same time, such a saving would probably be the least of the advantages resulting from the work in question. By lessening the expense at which the produce of Central India, on the one hand, and of the coast on the other, could be carried to a market, it would increase the demand for it to a proportionate extent. This again would stimulate cultivation and production; and, as the population of the country in question is enormous, it is difficult to assign limits to the increase of trade that would arise from conferring upon it merely the ordinary means of intercourse in all civilized states, of which hitherto it has unfortunately been in a great measure deprived."

It is worthy of remark, that, while the fine kinds of cotton, exposed to the rains, have deteriorated fifty per cent. the inferior sorts do not suffer beyond ten or twelve per cent. Hence, another inducement to send common cotton.

I must here also, give you the testimony of a Manchester gentleman. I do not know that I am permitted to name him; but he is a gentleman of high respectability, who went to India some time ago, and on his return furnished to the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, an account of his experience in India, as it bears upon the question now under discussion. He says:—

"During my stay in Guzerat, in the spring of 1837, I was occupied several months in purchasing, cleaning, packing, and shipping East India cotton. The cotton grown in Guzerat (the best in India) is *taxed by the honourable company at a rate which often proves fifty per cent. of its market value.*—[A tolerable tax, that!] The cotton with the seed in it (called kupass), as it is taken from the plant, is often very much injured before cleaning. It is in this state that the Honourable the East India Company levy their land-tax on it."

"Immediately after it is gathered, it is brought (by the tax-gatherers) into the government kullies (yards); and if the growers, or owners, are not

Surely it should be the object of the government to remove, without delay, these impediments to the agricultural prosperity of India. Take another testimony :—

"The great cause of the inferiority of the Indian cotton," says one of the papers laid before the Chamber of Commerce, "is the circumstance, that the growers do not benefit by improving the quality of their cotton, because it is sold and mortgaged before it is sown, at a fixed price per candy, to a middle-man, who again sells it to another, who brings it to Bombay market, and re-sells it to a shipper. At present, those connected with the cultivation of cotton are subject to great delay and loss, by the system of fixing the land tax on the cotton after it is picked. And as there is only a limited number of revenue officers appointed for this duty, great delay occurs, and the cotton is frequently kept a long time in pits, dug in the field, where it was grown, carelessly covered over with earth. It therefore becomes impossible to have it cleaned before the monsoon (from June to the end of October); and instead of being in Bombay in May, it cannot be brought there until November, December, and January; its quality having been much deteriorated by exposure to four months rain, in very damp huts, and by being mixed with earth or sand, from the little care which has been taken to keep it clean during that period. The evils under which the cotton trade in India suffer are these :—

1. "Excessive land tax, exacted in an unfair manner, which must check all improvement.
2. "The want of good roads. Cotton cannot, therefore, be brought from Central India, which is capable of supplying the world.
3. "The dependent condition of the cultivators on their bankers. Owing to this, it is their interest to produce a large quantity of inferior, in preference to a less quantity of good cotton, as they receive more for the former than for the latter; even if the smaller quantity of fine were worth double the other in the Bombay market.
4. "The delay thrown in the way of cleaning the cotton by the government revenue officers.

"This last evil might be remedied by appointing a larger number of them in the cotton districts, with strict orders to occasion no delay, but, on the contrary, to use every exertion to facilitate the speedy transmission of the cotton to the market."

One method of collecting the revenue, mentioned in Mr. Kirkman Finlay's paper to the Chamber of Commerce, I must not allow to pass without noticing. He says that, amongst the means resorted to by inferior revenue officers, is the following :—When a defaulter has a daughter, a person of a much lower caste is selected as her husband, provided he be willing to pay a large sum for the privilege thus offered of marrying into a family of higher caste; the defaulter is then compelled to give the hand of his daughter to the person so selected, and the money realized by the transaction is immediately seized by the government. I refrain from going further into this subject, or I might relate deeds of much darker complexion than the one here described. Let us hope the time is coming when the Company, or whoever may be the rulers of India, will act upon other and better principles. When they do, their revenue will be greater, and the character of their administration will be respected and upheld.

Now look at the difficulties in the way of growing cotton :—First, the absence of proprietary right in the soil. Here is the master evil; here is the great injustice of our administration in India; depriving the natives of the soil of their right to that soil; utterly despising them; sweeping off all the great landlords and all the little ones together; reckoning directly with the cultivator of the individual field, and taking from him at least forty-five per cent. of the gross produce of the soil. Then, the heavy and fluctuating assessments; then, the utter dependence upon the village bankers, producing, as you have seen, carelessness

prietary right in the soil; when I say, that the land-tax is so heavy that it cannot be borne; when I say, that it is fluctuating, and that it represses all improvement and industry,—the remedy naturally suggested for these grievances is the restoration to the native of his soil; the fixing in perpetuity the tax which he shall pay; the making that tax moderate; the fixing it according to equitable principles, and thus giving him a motive to improve his land, and to increase the amount and value of his crop, that he may derive a direct and permanent benefit. Then you will have at once perceived the necessity of roads in India. Here, from the cotton district, you find them utterly unable to get their cotton to Bombay, a distance of three, four, five, or six hundred miles, except upon the backs of bullocks, along very difficult roads; and when those roads, at all times devious and difficult, become still worse by the heavy rains which fall and break them up, the cotton is destroyed, the bullocks die, immense loss is sustained; and if it reaches Bombay, the probability is, that it will be still further injured, by the negligence of the revenue officer, who takes charge of the article. Roads, therefore, are wanted. Had time permitted, I could have shown where they are most wanted, and have pointed out that, not only with respect to cotton, but many other things,—indeed to commerce at large,—they would infinitely increase the prosperity of the country, and hasten the time when the cotton of India would come here in as large quantities as is demanded by the people of this island. Then, the introduction of a better system of cultivation; but this, as I have said, will never be, till the cultivator is assured that he shall derive some advantage from the adoption of a better system. Alexander Rogers, Esq. in reference to the willingness of the natives to act upon a better system, says, in a paper which he also has communicated to the Chamber of Commerce here :—

“The prejudice of the natives to the introduction of improvements in agriculture, is often referred to. I will, therefore, record my opinion upon the subject. The peasantry of India are, I think, better educated and less prejudiced than the peasantry of England were thirty years ago. No considerable difficulty was found in introducing a new and superior method of cultivating and preparing *opium*, of which India exports to the value of £5,000,000 per annum, of the finest quality in the world.

“There was no difficulty in improving the growth and manufacture of *sugar*, of which Indian sorts sell (on the average of all last year) four shillings per cwt. better than that imported from the West Indies.

“There was no difficulty in introducing the cultivation, on an improved system, of *indigo*, of which India exports to the value of £2,000,000 of the finest quality in the world.

“There was no difficulty found in adopting the most improved Italian system in the treatment of the *silk worm*, and reeling raw silk, of which India exports per annum £500,000 worth. I therefore see no important difficulty in introducing superior cotton.

“I believe there is more cotton produced in India than in America, but it is required for home consumption. That it has not been grown extensively for exportation, is accounted for by the fact, that India has been hermetically sealed to European enterprise up to 1815; that, from that time to 1833, the government manufactured and traded, and private capitalists did not dare compete with so powerful an opponent. Europeans out of the service were permitted to reside in India *only* by sufferance, liable to deportation at the will and pleasure of the government, without cause assigned. No European could hold land in India, nor go there without special leave; to procure which, required much interest and expense.

“Since 1833, the commercial occupation of the government having ceased, all their establishments have been thrown too suddenly on the hands of private

tured to speak some half-dozen times upon it; that those who had lived all their lives in India said, with respect to the allegations I made against the company, and the picture I drew of the condition of the natives, that in the one case the indictment was correct, and in the other the picture most faithful. And those individuals have joined us. We have among them men who have spent their lives, and gained their fortunes in India,—who have governed men by tens of millions, and have had the management of armies in that country, and have had confided to them the largest amount of discretionary power. And these men are with us. Their hearts beat in unison with ours; our objects are supported by them; and hope, which never dawned upon their minds in India, has dawned upon them here, seeing, as they think they see, the mustering of that mighty energy that snapped the fetters of the Negro in the West—and is equally able to raise to competence, and comfort, and liberty, and independence, the Hindoo in the East. I say, hope animates them; they are with us; they have gathered around us; they are willing to labor; they say, “We will give you information; we will contribute of our substance; we will correspond for you with our friends in India; you shall diffuse our facts abroad; you shall muster the sympathies and the suffrages of the people of this country; because we know that, whenever the people of these islands shall be suitably impressed with the value and the importance of their Eastern empire, it will not be long ere they ask for India the justice which will make that country prosper, and enrich themselves in return.”

Then we rely upon the fulness and completeness of our case. Sirs, I might take up days and weeks of your time in furnishing evidence upon this question. How so many bulky volumes of evidence should have lain so long neglected,—unless it were because they were mighty and numerous, and dry and dull,—I cannot conceive; but there they are, by scores and hundreds, and any man who chooses to look into any of them, published during the last fifty years, finds, upon almost every page, abundant proofs of the necessity of those very reformatory measures which I am now recommending to be adopted. I have chosen to quote recent travellers and living functionaries; because I think that testimony bearing upon the present actual condition of India, is better testimony than that of those, who, however great and however veracious, are now gathered to their fathers.

Then, again, we have reason to know that this question has already taken hold to some extent upon the anti-slavery strength of this nation; that many of the best and most enlightened friends of the negro, in Scotland, in England, and across the Irish channel, are aware of the intimate connection between the accomplishment of our object and the accomplishment of theirs; and that they, therefore, with us, are prepared to diffuse information, and to unite with the British India associations that are now in course of organization, in different parts of the country. And I look, my friends—I will not conceal it—to that same spirit, to those great principles, which sustained those who worked in the anti-slavery contest in the darkest hour; which made them hope against hope, and believe for victory when all was unpromising and cheerless. I rely upon that same spirit, upon that same dauntless daring, that same unwearying perseverance, that same modest and unostentatious, yet powerful and almost omnipotent agency, which

be the fair competition of free labour with slave labour, that is to snap the fetters which now encircle their limbs.

And, sirs, what is the end at which we aim? It is to improve the condition, to regenerate the population, of one of the grand sections of the globe. The whole of Asia is before us. Three or four hundred millions of human beings are influenced by every thing we do, by every thing we leave undone, in regard to British India. We seek to circulate throughout the whole of the eastern hemisphere, those principles that are ordained of God to bless and to save mankind. Our object, let it ever be remembered, is a beneficent object. We do not seek to cover crimsoned fields with the bones of the slain, but to save the lives of those who are ready to perish, and to make "the wilderness blossom as the rose." We seek not to extend the dominions of our virgin monarch by the sword and by conquest; but to extend her reign over the hearts of men, and to plant her throne deep and immovable in the affections of her distant subjects.

"Be these thy trophies, queen of many isles!
On these high Heaven shall shed indulgent smiles.
First by thy guardian voice to India led,
Shall Truth divine her tearless victories spread;
Wide and more wide the heaven-born light shall stream,
New realms from thee shall catch the blissful theme;
Unwonted warmth the soften'd savage feel,
Strange chiefs admire, and turban'd warriors kneel;
The prostrate East submit her jewell'd pride,
And swarthy kings adore the Crucified."

END OF THE FOURTH LECTURE.

which we exercise no direct legislative influence. I rejoice in the progress of the cause in the United States of America. I have frequently addressed audiences upon that subject in this town; I have dwelt upon the early history of the great struggle in America; and I have exhibited the conflicts, the toils, and the triumphs of the noble and martyr-like spirits, which have been raised up to advance the cause of freedom in that great but inconsistent and guilty land; and I believe that there is a spirit at work among the people on the other side of the Atlantic, which will ultimately prove fatal to the existence of that system, which is so foul a stain upon the profession and the character of that otherwise free and noble people. But, I believe, with reference to that country, that the abolitionists, however numerous, however fearless, however well organised, however wise in their measures, however bold and intrepid in the prosecution of their designs, will find their great enterprise in the United States exceedingly retarded in the accomplishment of its object, unless it be aided by the employment of those means which Providence has put within our reach, and without which the American Anti-slavery Society would be left comparatively weak and helpless.

I come, therefore, to-night, to connect the British India question with the great question of slavery and the slave trade throughout the world; and to show what we may reasonably expect to be able to do for the cause of human freedom, while we wisely and energetically seek to promote the good of our fellow-subjects in British India. It may be necessary to dwell for a moment or two, upon the present state of the world, in regard to negro slavery and the slave trade. You are aware that there are in the United States of North America, nearly three millions of human beings, who are held in a condition of absolute and unmitigated thralldom. You are aware, that in Brazil there are upwards of two millions of human beings in a similar situation, and in the dependencies of other Christian states more than one million, making a total of six millions of human beings held as goods and chattels by nominally Christian states. You are aware, also, that there has recently sprung into existence a republic on the shores of America, known by the name of Texas; that this is a great country wrested from the territory of Mexico, appropriated by a number of lawless adventurers from the United States, who have gone thither, carrying slaves with them, and have hitherto, by force and fraud combined, kept possession of this country, to which they have no right, either moral, political, or natural; and that they are now carrying on a very extensive trade in slaves, in the hope of erecting themselves into a large and prosperous cotton-growing community. As there is at this moment considerable discussion in reference to Texas, as the public papers are arguing *pro* and *con* the propriety of a recognition of that infant republic by the government of this country, I desire to bear my testimony against that republic, as being unworthy of the countenance and support of this Christian and anti-slavery nation. I believe there is not to be found on the face of the globe we inhabit, a confederacy of human beings more wicked in its principles, more outrageous in its political doctrines, than the confederacy of men, all nearly destitute of character, and many of them bankrupts in circumstances, who form the republic of Texas, on the shores of America. As a specimen of their political principles, allow me to draw your attention to the ninth section of their Constitution, formally proclaimed, in which it is decreed that—

“All persons of colour who were slaves for life, previous to their emigration

possible, with the people of this country, until a system so unholy and so unfraternal as this is entirely abolished.

Then, with regard to the African slave trade: those who have made themselves familiar with the details that have recently been published, respecting the extent and character of the slave trade carried on between Africa and America, know how dreadful and appalling, how completely heart-sickening, are the features of that most execrable traffic. Since the year 1807, the exportation of human beings from the shores of Africa has more than doubled, and the horrors of transportation have been beyond all calculation increased. Instead of 70,000 beings transported from Africa, which was the total amount of negroes sent from that country in 1807, there are now from 150,000 to 250,000 taken to supply the transatlantic slave markets; and, in consequence of this trade, from 250,000 to 300,000 are murdered on the soil of their birth. Thus it is computed by Mr. Buxton, (and not by one process only, but by five processes, instituted by him for the purpose of arriving at an accurate conclusion on the subject,) that half a million yearly are either slaughtered or enslaved, to supply the slave markets of America. These are murdered during the time of seizure, in the predatory wars that are waged between chief and chief, tribe and tribe, nation and nation; or on the march from the interior down to the coast, during which it is estimated that not less than thirty per cent. perish—or, on the middle passage between the shores of Africa and Rio Janeiro, or the Havana, or Texas, or some of the rivers of the United States of America—or during the sufferings which characterize the period of "seasoning," as it is called, while being initiated into the sufferings and the sorrows of their enslaved condition. And it is estimated, also, that at all times there are not fewer than twenty thousand human beings sailing over the Atlantic, from the land of their nativity to the distant scenes of bondage and suffering for which they are destined. Then allow me to draw your attention for a moment to another slave trade, which is carried on in the United States of America, and which is not far inferior in the blackness of its character to the slave trade which I have just adverted to. Mr. Middleton, in a speech to Congress in 1819, declared that thirteen thousand Africans were annually smuggled into the Southern states; notwithstanding the distinct prohibition of the trade since 1808—that furtively, illegally, and as contraband articles of trade, thirteen thousand slaves are annually imported into the Southern rivers of that country. And Miss Martineau, in her interesting work on "Society in America," has also stated, on the authority of a large slaveholder, that not fewer than fifteen thousand are thus, contrary to law, annually introduced into the United States of America. This would give to every census of the black population of the United States an addition to the extent of 150,000, and may, to this extent, account for the increase in the slave population in that country, which is always taken by the Americans themselves to be a full and sufficient proof of the more kindly treatment of their negroes, compared with the treatment of negroes in other slave countries of the world.

But, besides this, there is an inland slave trade going on between the north-eastern and the south-western slave states. This is variously estimated. It appears, however, from the very best authority, that during the year 1836, no fewer than one hundred and fifty thousand negroes were removed from the one state of Virginia (one of the older, and now a slave-rearing state,) to the southern and south-western

Now, all means have been adopted which promise either to check or destroy this traffic. Treaties without number have been signed; compensation money has been poured out with prodigality; colonies have been planted; military stations have been established; ships of war have been sent out; head-money has been given to seamen to stimulate their courage, and to keep alive their vigilance in the abolition of the slave trade; courts of mixed commission have been formed at the various ports with which we have connection; and slave-vessels have been condemned when found in the traffic. It has cost this country, since 1807, when the foreign slave trade was abolished by law, more than twenty millions of pounds sterling, altogether exclusive of the twenty millions given to the West India planters, under the name of compensation for the loss of the services of their liberated slaves. And what has been the consequence? All these means, all these measures, have failed. Not only has the trade not been checked, but it has more than doubled since we abolished it ourselves. Not only have the horrors of the middle passage not been diminished, but they have been incalculably augmented. Fleetness of passage being the great object, as many human beings as it was possible to cram into the hold of a slave-vessel have been put therein; and thus disease, and madness, and despair, have generally slaughtered from one-third to one-half of those who were put on board the vessel on the shores of Africa.

Now, how are we to hope to put down this traffic? By our correspondence and diplomatic intercourse with the nations of the world? How long, in the opinion of the most sanguine individual, will it be ere a confederacy of all the nations, now engaged in this traffic, shall be witnessed for the purpose of putting down the odious trade? Will it be done in fifty years? Grant that, in half a century, we may behold the nations of Europe and America united—the heads of their governments united—to put down this trade; yet, from eleven to *twenty millions* would have perished during that time. But not only is such a confederacy hopeless, but a confederacy of nations, if it could be obtained, would be useless. The motive would exist; the means would exist; the premium would be offered; the market would be open; the fruits of slave labour would be demanded; and, notwithstanding money might be given, and treaties signed, and congresses of nations might be held, and solemn vows be mutually plighted, as in the cases of Spain, of the United States, and of Portugal; the dictates of humanity, the requirements of justice, the laws of God, and the laws of nations would be set at defiance; and men, in thousands, would be found wicked enough, bold enough, and cunning enough, to engage in this traffic; and Africa would still be as largely pillaged of her children as she is now, because the means adopted would be ineffectual, depending upon the sincerity and good faith of men, not only those who immediately sign the treaties in question, but upon all those who were beneath them, without whose co-operation, fidelity, and assistance, it would be impossible to accomplish the object thus honourably and sincerely sought. It is plain, therefore, that all mere diplomatic and political instrumentalities have failed; and it is equally plain that they are doomed to fail, throughout all succeeding years and ages. You must find, therefore, some other means of putting down this trade. And what remains? It is said we must influence the literature of Europe; we must put this trade under the ban; we must expose it to

our own colonies so long, and that still keeps up slavery in other parts of the world. My friends, if we send our remonstrances to the United States of America, under present circumstances, what can we expect but that they will come back upon us repudiated and condemned, as the offspring of a most spurious and hypocritical philanthropy? When we utter the voice of expostulation to America, she may, with much reason, reply, "Base hypocrites; cease your remonstrances, your cotton smells of blood." How can we call ourselves sincere, if we waste now and then a quire of paper, or give now and then an hour, or an evening, to the discussion of the anti-slavery question, while every year beholds us handing over to those who task, and toil, and lash, and brutalize, and kill the body and soul of the slave, some ten, twelve, or fourteen millions of pounds sterling, per year, for their slave-reared produce?

Now, sirs, if in addition to this evil done to Africa, and to the slaves of America, it should appear that we are inflicting also a direct and grievous injury on the inhabitants of British India, our own fellow-subjects, then will it be proved to the world that we are guilty of two evils, in leaving undone what we ought to do, to mitigate the condition of one hundred millions of the East; and inflicting on the slaves of America the foulest wrong, in that we are supplying to their tormentors and task-masters, the bribe and the remuneration which they seek for carrying on their trade. Now, sirs, I hesitate not to say, that the consumption of tropical produce in this country, is a subject of incalculable importance to the interests of freedom and humanity; and I would earnestly exhort the anti-slavery public of this great nation to look well at the question in all its bearings. The demand for tropical produce is already immense. On a former occasion I took the opportunity of stating to what extent we imported tropical produce into this country; and already, large and influential bodies are petitioning for a reduction in the amount of duties on the produce of slave labor, from Brazil and elsewhere; and it was only the other day that your late representative, the present governor-general of the Canadas, stated it as his opinion, that we could not fairly ask for the encouragement of the free-labour produce of Siam, and China, and Hayti, without, at the same time—according to all the treaties we have signed with Brazil, the United States, and other slave-holding countries—opening our ports for the admission, upon equal terms, of their produce also. Now we know what the desire for cheap food is; we know what the hatred of monopoly is in this country; and I look forward with distress and dismay, to the time, when so loud and powerful shall be the demand for the extinction of all monopoly, and for the free introduction of the produce of every part of the world—that we shall behold an additional impetus given by the freedom with which the produce of slave countries is received into this country, to that system which we all hate, and the downfall of which we all most fervently desire. Now, it is asked by some of the friends of humanity, with more credit to their feelings than to their knowledge of the treaties we have entered into with other countries—that we should admit the produce of Java and China, and Siam and Hayti, and other places, where free labor, and free labor only, is known,—into our ports, upon an equal footing with the produce of our own West India or British India colonies. But, while we have trade with the United States and other nations, which

pool for eighteen pounds per ton? And yet, Mr. Gladstone, who was largely connected with the system to which I have referred, stated in his letter to Lord Glenelg, at that time, that these men and women would cost him thirty-seven pounds per head, per year, when he got them to Demarara; and the same gentleman has stated recently, that he could put upon the wharf at Liverpool, sugar from Calcutta, as good as that grown upon his own plantation in Demerara, at eighteen pounds per ton, while the latter is not grown for less than forty-two pounds per ton.

But, sirs, it is but justice to others that I should state, what I do with extreme pleasure and satisfaction, that the abolition of slavery and the slave trade by the encouragement of free labour in India, is no new thought. It is no wonderful discovery in the year 1839. Many years ago, that honourable and excellent man, not now permitted, by the state of his health, to engage actually in this and other schemes of benevolence, (I mean Mr. James Cropper, of Liverpool,) that inestimable philanthropist, labored for years in this cause; his pen, his tongue, his time, his money, were lavishly bestowed upon the great work of demonstrating that we had but to look from the slave plantations of the West to the plains of India in the East, to obtain from the latter such a supply of cheap produce as would effectually put down the system that was staining and disgracing the former. I may refer, too, to the labours of Mr. Adam Hodgson, (another enlightened gentleman of Liverpool,) who, in 1826, published a valuable pamphlet, in the form of a letter to a distinguished Frenchman, on the comparative value of free and slave labor, in which it is made most apparent that we had only to do justice to British India, in order to accomplish all our wishes and designs in reference to the West. This enlightened view is taken up, and most ably developed, in a pamphlet sent forth by the abolitionists of Birmingham in 1827. It is entitled, "A Short Review of the Slave Trade and Slavery, with Considerations on the benefit that would arise from the Cultivation of Tropical Productions by Free Labor." I beg your attention to one or two short paragraphs from this valuable pamphlet, inasmuch as they, with singular distinctness, set forth the doctrines which I have been laboring to diffuse on this great question:—

"Let it not," says this well-written pamphlet, "for one moment be forgotten, that the people of England are the supporters of slavery; and that, by a large annual pecuniary sacrifice, they not only uphold it in all its unmitigated malignity, but prevent the operation of a principle which would soon terminate its existence."

The pamphlet then proceeds to discuss the subject at considerable length, and demonstrates that the encouragement of East India produce, would effect the downfall of slavery and the slave trade all over the world. In reference to the growth of indigo, the only experiment which had been fairly tried up to that time, the author says:—

"Forty years ago, little or no indigo was exported from British India. The whole of that article then used in Europe was the product of slave labor."

I beg especial attention to these facts; because what is here said of indigo, will hold equally true with respect to cotton, sugar, rice, and tobacco.

"A few individuals in Bengal employed their capital and their intelligence in inciting the natives to enlarge their cultivation of it, and in preparing it for the European market; and, though abundantly discouraged in the first instance,

many millions in India now sunk in ignorance and idolatry ! While India is receiving these inestimable blessings, Africa herself will advance with rapid progress in the career of improvement. Relieved from the scourge which has spread barbarism and desolation over her shores, she will soon commence a more beneficial intercourse with the nations of Europe. In the peaceful interchange of our manufactures for the varied productions of her free and fertile soil, a commerce will arise equally advantageous to both parties ; and, by communicating the arts of civilized life, and the knowledge of the gospel to her children, we shall be enabled to make some reparation for the centuries of wrong which we have inflicted. If such are the benefits which would arise from the unshackled competition of free labor, it becomes the imperative duty of every one to employ his most strenuous exertions for bringing about an end of such inestimable importance."

Again he says :—

"By a determined encouragement of free labor, we may not only compel other European nations to abandon the slave trade, by making it not worth their pursuit, but we may also compel our own colonial subjects, and the subjects of every other power in America, to abandon slavery itself."

Such, sirs, was the view taken, twelve years ago, of the importance of the subject which I have had the honour of discussing in this town. The soundness of this view is confirmed by the experience we have since had ; and I repeat it, I trust that abolitionists generally will see it to be their duty to obey the word of exhortation, which I have just read out of the valuable pamphlet published in Birmingham.

The movement, in regard to India, has been already hailed by the friends of freedom in different parts of the world, as the dawn of a brighter day for Africa and the slaves of the West. I have been struck with the singular degree of approbation which has been bestowed upon the recent labors on behalf of British India. Some months ago, we held a meeting in the Friends' meeting house in London ; and a very full and correct account of the proceedings of that meeting went out to the United States of America, as well as to India ; and very soon after the arrival of the report on the other side of the Atlantic, I received a letter from an American clergyman, with whom I had not corresponded for three years. He says :—

"The other day I saw in the bay of New York, three American slavers. The public papers, in speaking upon this subject, say that there are at least one hundred American vessels at present engaged in the traffic. In fact the love of gain is so deeply rooted in the American heart, both in the north and south, that slavery can never be abolished but by some plan similar to that which you have proposed ; and I am so fully convinced of this, that I would be most happy to go immediately to England as an agent, to act in connection with the society which you and your friends have lately formed. It is so well adapted to accomplish the purpose you have in view, that I would be rejoiced to be engaged in forwarding its interests. I think the observations I have made in this country, the experience which I have had by actual residence in the free and slave states, and the facts which have come to my knowledge, not second-hand, but as an eye-witness, might be made available for the accomplishment of the grand three-fold object you have in view—the destruction of the slave trade, the abolition of slavery, and the mitigation of the sufferings of the people of India."

I quote this extract to show how the movement here has affected the mind of an individual deeply interested in the question of negro emancipation in the United States. But, beyond this, I have received within the last few days—since I left Manchester after my last lecture—a long letter, which I shall not read, but merely refer to, from the Anti-slavery Society of Massachusetts, signed by the chairman, and by W. L. Garrison, corresponding secretary of that society. T

shall be able to wear away the fetters of the slave. God speed the progress of your society! May it soon find in its ranks the whole phalanx of sacred and veteran abolitionists! No single, divided effort, but a united one, to grapple with the wealth, influence, and power, embattled against you. Is it not Schiller who says:—'Divide the thunder into single notes, and it becomes a lullaby for children: but pour it forth in one quick-peal, and the royal sound shall shake the heavens'? So may it be with you; and God grant that, without waiting for the 'United States to be consistent'—before our ears are dust, the jubilee of emancipated millions may reach us from Mexico to the Potomac, and from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains!

The economical bearings of the anti-slavery question cannot be too closely studied by the abolitionists of the present day. If the question of free labor was important while slavery existed in our own colonies, it is doubly so now, that we are called to act upon the slavery of other countries. We doubtless have it in our power to shake to the foundations those institutions of oppression, which owe their existence to the pecuniary stimulus offered to the employment of coerced labour, by bringing into direct competition the products of free culture in British India. While our literature, our religious appeals, and our political treatises, are putting under the ban systems that are a disgrace to all concerned in their continuance, it is to the silent but sure operation of the competition I have referred to, that we must look for the withdrawal of those motives which will otherwise be found to prevail, in spite of every other instrumentality. On this vitally important branch of the subject, I will to-night refer to the opinions of a party, perhaps, better qualified to judge of the comparative value of various agencies now in use, than any other—I mean the abolitionists of the United States. They have the best opportunities of judging of the results of the various means that are employed to effect the downfall of slavery—more particularly of those which are employed on this side of the water. Let us, then, attend to what they say respecting the relation in which we stand to the foul system which they are seeking to destroy. Let us see what their views are, concerning the probable results of a mild and fostering system of government in the East, and the encouragement of free labour tropical produce by the consumers of this country. In the preface to the first American edition of the late work of Mr. Buxton on the Slave Trade, I find the following remarks and quotation:—

"By a vigorous and united effort, the slave cursed cotton and rice of America might be excluded from British ports, to give place to the rice of Patna, and the cotton of Bengal. Our friends on the other side of the water have been reminded of their power and responsibility in this matter by one of their bitterest enemies, the slave proprietor Gladstone, who resisted, in the British parliament to the last, every measure of emancipation. In his speech on the 30th of March, 1838, against the abolition of the apprenticeship system, he thus taunted his zealous opponents:—'*You* (said the honourable gentleman) who are so sick with apprenticeship in the West Indies—*you* who cannot wait for twenty-four months, when the apprentices will be free, are you aware what responsibility lies upon *every one of you* at this moment, with reference to the cultivation of cotton in America? There are 3,000,000 of slaves in America. America does not talk of abolition, nor of the amelioration of slavery. It is a domestic institution which appears destined to descend to the posterity of that free people; and who are responsible for this enormous growth of what appears to be ~~EXTERNAL~~ SLAVERY? Is it not the demand that creates this supply; and is it not the consumption of cotton from whence that demand arises? You consume 318,000,000lbs. of cotton, which proceed from slave labor, and only 45,000,000 lbs. which proceed from free labor; *that too while you have the means in India, at a very little expense, of obtaining all you require from free labor.*'"

speedy termination or indefinite extension and perpetuation of American slavery. Cotton is now the great anti-abolition influence of this country. In whatever shape opposition to the cause of emancipation manifests itself—whether in the Church or the State—in a mercantile or ecclesiastical association—it *may be traced directly back to the cotton-bale*. Were English and French manufacturers supplied with Indian or Egyptian cotton, the demand for slaves from Virginia and Maryland would cease—the growers of men and women for the cotton-planting region would find no market for their human staple—and, as a consequence, slavery would be unprofitable, and as another consequence Virginia statesmen would begin to believe with Thomas Jefferson, “that all men are created equal;” and Virginia divines—the Plummerts and the Hills—would very soon discover that slavery is incompatible with genuine Presbyteranism, whether of the old or the new school. *Slavery now lies entrenched behind its cotton-bags*—like General Jackson at New Orleans; and the efforts of British or even American abolitionists to dislodge it by moral suasion, we fear will prove as ineffectual as those of General Packenham, to force the cotton barricades of the American camp, on the 8th January, 1816. *We call, then, upon the abolitionists of Great Britain, to urge their government to foster and promote, to the extent of its power, the cultivation of cotton in the Indies.* By so doing they will promote the true interest of their own country—they will confer an incalculable benefit upon ours—they will lift the crushed millions of India from their degradation—and strike off the chains from three millions of American slaves.

“The present annual product of cotton in Asia is estimated at 190,000,000 pounds: that in Egypt at about 30,000,000. It is stated by Dr. Bowring of England, that the slave trade which has heretofore desolated one of the finest cotton tracts in the world—the confluence of the Blue and White Nile—has been prohibited by Mehemet Ali; and that from henceforth the cultivation will go on without interruption. In this tract the finest cotton is found growing in the woods, uncultured by human hands. In the British possessions of the East, no longer weighed down by the monopoly of the East India Company, but open to enterprise, the cotton cultivation must necessarily receive a favourable impulse. **WE CONFESS THAT ONE OF OUR MAIN RELIANCES, UNDER GOD, FOR THE BLOODLESS TERMINATION OF AMERICAN SLAVERY IS THE INCREASE OF COTTON CULTIVATION IN THE PENINSULA OF BRITISH INDIA.**”

In the same paper I find an account of a Free Produce Convention, held in the city of Philadelphia on the 15th and 16th of October, at which the following resolutions were unanimously passed, viz.—

“Resolved—That we hail with joy the complete emancipation of the slaves in the British West Indies, and the formation of the British India Society, as events calculated to have an important bearing on the cause of freedom generally, and on our enterprise in particular, for the prosecution of which it will greatly increase the facilities, by bringing the productions of free labor in both Eastern and Western India, into competition with those of slave labor, and thus multiplying the sources of supply of free goods.

“Resolved—That the corresponding Secretary be instructed to open a correspondence with the British India Society, with reference to the objects of the Association; and to assure that body of the sincere gratification with which we have heard of its formation, as well as the important assistance to our cause which we anticipate from its labors.”

The enlightened and energetic females of the city of Philadelphia have also forwarded to us an encouraging communication, from which the following is an extract:—

“Philadelphia, September 9th, 1839.

“While struggling amidst almost every kind of opposition to achieve the redemption of the two millions and a half of slaves in our republic, the abolitionists of America cannot but hail with joy every institution founded upon righteous principles, which promises, either in its primal design, or incidental influences, to aid them in so good a work. That such aid will be afforded by the British India Society we firmly believe.” “When we see, in the continued tyranny and unabated cruelty of our Southern taskmasters, sad evidence of the fruitlessness of our efforts to persuade them to do justice to the captive; and while we listen to the cries of those captives, imploring:

penance a day. By the unerring operation of this simple, gradual revolution, had Providence designed and doomed the extinction of slavery throughout the civilized world. To whose account, then, is justly and directly chargeable the amount of human woe with which this curse has filled and still fills the earth? Who have proved themselves to be the greatest foes to human advancement, and human happiness, the world has ever seen? Let those answer whose measures have hitherto multiplied every attempt to extend, on equitable principles, the cultivation of the produce of our possessions in the East."

I have done now, sirs, with details. I have said enough to set before you a most glorious object. Three sections of the world may be benefitted by what you have it in your power to do. You can raise India; you can emancipate America; you can redeem and regenerate Africa. And are you not called upon to do this? Does not consistency demand it? Does not your Christian character require it? Does not your moral influence bind you to exert yourselves in behalf of a world desolated, to gratify the cupidity and lust of power of a handful of wicked men? Your national prosperity, too, is bound up in the question. Your love of justice prompts you, bleeding misery implores you, to do justice to India. I do trust, therefore, that we shall not make an appeal, as the British India Society, to the abolitionists of this country in vain. I have shown you in former addresses, that a great article of manufacture in this country, cotton may be grown in India to any extent whatsoever. I am prepared to show, whenever occasion requires, and time will permit, that also as to coffee, rice, tobacco, and sugar, these articles may all be obtained, and to an indefinite extent, from that country. Why, then, should we depend altogether upon other countries? As I said, when I first addressed you, I come not here to plead the cause of monopoly. Perish monopoly. As I abhor a monopoly of light, as I would not circumscribe the beams of day, so neither would I put bonds upon the honourable intercourse and reciprocation of trade and of sentiment amongst mankind. But, without supporting monopoly, without vindicating the cause of restriction, I ask you to be just to India; to give fair play to those who have hitherto been circumscribed and crippled in their industrious operations; and you will at once bring a principle into action that will be fatal to slavery all over the world. The sugar cane is indigenous to British India; its production, owing to the slight encouragement it has received since the equalization of the duties, has very greatly increased. During the year ending September, 1837, we imported from British India 316,760 bags; and in the year ending September 1838, we imported 528,589 bags, being an increase in one year of 181,289 bags. Then, again, labor is so cheap, that it may be obtained in every part of the country where sugar may be grown, for from one to two rupees per month; and there is every reason to look forward to the introduction of the very best kind of sugar cane to that country; so that, instead of having to open our ports to the introduction of slave-grown sugar from Brazil or Cuba—to which I look forward as the only alternative if we do not benefit British India—we may receive from the latter country not only enough for ourselves, but also enough to supply those other markets which now depend exclusively upon that which is grown by slave labor. I need not trouble you with extracts in proof of this, because the thing is notorious, and dwelt upon in all the recent works published bearing a bearing on this subject. To show you to what extent an article may be grown in India in a few years, if encouraged, I would instance the case of India

Ireland in Liverpool is three times as great as all the imports into Great Britain of produce from Central Africa. But I cannot be insensible to the advantages of India over Africa. India is a settled and civilised country, which Africa is not. India is ours, which Africa is not. The climate of India is genial, which that of Africa is not. India is accessible, which Africa is not at present. Over the whole extent of British India, and on every part of it, we might grow the produce that is suited to the soil and to the climate, and to the customs of the natives: it is not so with regard to Africa. In India we have no chiefs to subsidize; no tribes to locate; no barbarians to tame; no unhealthy climate to contend with; no unknown rivers to explore; we have no wicked and dishonourable trade to supplant. All these things have to be done in Africa. I shall not pretend to guess the plan which certain benevolent and eminent men have devised for doing good to that country. Heaven grant that their plans may be successful, and hasten the day when that continent shall be saved from the incursions of the man-stealer! But as the friend of Africa,—claiming to be as much the friend of Africa as he who directs his attention exclusively to that country,—as the friend of Africa, I say look to India. Would you give security to Africa? Would you starve the man-stealer from her shores? Would you dispense with ships of war along the Slave Coast, and render unnecessary the outlay of the immense funds now employed? Would you give security to that now harassed, impoverished, and disembowelled country? Look to India. You may immediately bring your cotton, your sugar, your rice, from thence; and as soon as you import it into this country, so surely will you stop, immediately and for ever, the demand for slaves. And thus you are doing peacefully, and by most unexceptionable means, without lavish expenditure, without embassies, without treaties, without congresses, without any violation, direct or indirect, of any existing treaty, you are doing that which cannot be done, (if you look at Africa only, and forget India) without a vast deal of expense. Much time must elapse, much pains must be taken, many failures must be sustained, ere we can hope to see the plans that may be devised—however sapient the benevolence that originated, or active the energy that may work them—carried into successful operation. I say, therefore, look to India. If you can but render slavery so far unprofitable—unnecessary, and therefore unprofitable—as to put down the trade in slaves, then you immediately restore to the shore of Africa what she has not known for centuries—that peace of which she has been deprived by the Christians of Europe. Then you can introduce commerce and civilization into Africa, without the fear of being thwarted in your plans by the superior temptation placed in the way of the barbarian chief, by the prowler and plunderer along her shores; then you can dispense with your armed cruises, your tenders and steam boats; then you may make treaties with the native chiefs, who will be glad, for they will be compelled to do so, seeing that you will be the only party before them, the other party having been dismissed from their shores by the operation of this most powerful and pacific principle; then will you extend the benefits of civilization, for you can lead the mind of the African from the worship of *Obeah* to the pure and life-giving worship of the one God. But until you do this, I believe that you will have to contend with many difficulties—some pressing at the present moment, and others unforeseen, which will arise up and

and rationally hope, that we shall see that great cause in which all our hearts are bound up,—the cause of religion, the cause of christianity, making way among the nations of the earth ; then every heavy yoke will be broken, and the oppressed set free in the four sections of the globe ; and, above all, our own country will be entirely irreproachable in this matter. That this may soon come to pass, let us all with one heart and consent, unite ourselves to a cause which seems to promise so much, and upon the soundest principles.

“ Delightful thought ! Then blessed be the hand
That formed our elemental clay, and made
Us what we are. It is worth while to live,
If we may live to purposes so great.
Awake our dormant zeal ! For ever flame
With generous ardor in this holy cause,
And let each head, each heart, each hand, and all,
Spend and be spent, in service so divine ! ”

END OF THE FIFTH LECTURE.

skill—the encouragement of native industry—the improvement of the means of internal communication, and the importation into British ports of the products of the East, would prove the most efficient and the only infallible cure of the accursed systems of slavery and the slave trade, now desolating the earth, and invoking the anger of Heaven. While attending to these things, I have endeavoured to keep steadily in view the benevolent end of our exertions—the bettering of the condition of countless millions of our fellow-subjects, whose condition and claims have been hitherto despised, forgotten, or overlooked. For the proof of this, I refer to the copious reports which have been furnished and circulated amongst you.

It is certainly too late in the day to be told, that we have nothing to do with India. Neither as Christians, as citizens, nor as merchants, can we receive such a doctrine. Our religion, our politics, and our ideas of commercial intercourse, alike repudiate so barbarous and antiquated a notion. Those were truly noble words addressed by a governor-general of India, the Marquis of Hastings, to the students of Fort William College, in August, 1820. They are words worthy of a great and generous mind, and deserve to be registered in all our hearts. That distinguished statesman and ruler said :—

“The indigent require a sustaining hand—the distressed require soothing—the perplexed require counsel—the injured require redress: they who present themselves to me in these predicaments are my fellow-men—and I am a Briton.”

Sirs, we have to do with every nation on the face of the earth—with all, especially, whom our laws, our religion, our literature, or our trade can reach; but, above all, have we to do with the parts of the earth we call our own, which are denominated our *dependencies*—with those which we *govern*—from which we draw our *wealth*—to which we send our *merchandise*. If the inhabitants of any of these be weak, or ignorant, or oppressed, they have a sacred claim upon us. They make their appeal—and it is a solemn one—to our pity, our magnanimity, and our justice. Are they impotent?—we are strong: are they in darkness?—we have the lamp of life: are they disfranchised?—they make their appeal to us who live under a government which we fashion and control; which mirrors forth and acts out whatever principles and intentions are vigorously maintained, and unequivocally expressed. Woe be to us if we neglect or abuse either our privileges or our power! Nothing to do with India! Is it nothing to us that hundreds of thousands of our fellow-subjects perish of hunger during a few months? Is it nothing to us that poverty, wretchedness and discontent, cover the face of a glorious and fertile land? Is it nothing to us that the slave bleeds and dies to give us that which might be taken from the surface of our own territory by the cheerful, free, and happy subject of the British sway? Is it nothing to us that the crimes, and the blood, and the guilt of a trade, which rends the continent of Africa and demonizes all who participate in it, may be laid in a great part at our door? Is it nothing to us whether we meet the reckoning which awaits us, calm and assured in the consciousness that we have done what we could, or shrinking from the gaze of those whose miseries we have left unpitied, and trembling in the presence of Him who will say, “Forasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not unto me.” We assert boldly, that we have something to do with

to whom I have referred does not possess my lectures, or does not deem them authentic in their present form, I am willing to put them this night into his possession, and to endorse with this hand every sentence I have uttered.

The gentleman who has stepped forward to "deny my facts," "disprove my reasonings," "and, it may be, deprecate my object," has preferred to consider those "general allegations" which I have brought against the government, in order that he may comprehend the whole breadth and scope of my argumentation within narrow limits. The first allegation mentioned is that respecting "the assumption by the British of the proprietorship of the soil" [of India.] "As far" says J. H. (for such are the initials of this writer) "as I can discover, by a careful reference to historical records and existing usages, no such assumption has ever been made." We shall see. First, however, let me do what J. H. has omitted to do, refer to the precise language which I have employed upon this subject. In the second lecture I observed :—

"The people have been virtually robbed of the soil—deprived of the fruits of their industry."

And again,—

"The government has made itself *de facto* the universal landlord—has assumed the right to tax the soil to any extent—has fixed an assumed capability on every field to produce—then, an assumed price on the produce of the field—and then fixed, that from thirty-five to forty-five per cent. of the money value of the crop shall be the tax to the state for ever."

In the fourth lecture I spoke as follows :—

"Look at the difficulties in the way of growing cotton: first, the absence of proprietary right in the soil. Here is the master evil. Here is the great injustice of our administration in India—depriving the natives of the soil of their right to that soil; utterly despising them; sweeping off all the great landlords and all the little ones together; reckoning directly with the cultivator of the individual field, and taking from him at least forty-five per cent. of the gross produce."

If these be not the passages referred to, I know of no other passage in which I used stronger language in reference to the odious and unrighteous assumption to which I refer. Now you will perceive that, in the first extract, I say, the people have been "*virtually*" robbed of the soil. In the second, "the government has made itself *de facto* the universal landlord." J. H. will certainly not plead ignorance of the meaning of such language as "*de facto*" and "*virtually*." In the third extract, I sufficiently explain what I mean, when I speak of *depriving* the natives of their right to the soil, by referring to the principle of taxation, and to its operations as witnessed every day in those parts of India to which I expressly alluded. But it is denied that such is the fact. "Historical records" and "existing usages" are appealed to, to disprove the truth of the allegation. It happens, very singularly, that while J. H. was combatting my position respecting the proprietary right assumed by the government of India, and flatly denying that the East India Company had ever assumed or asserted such a right, the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* was putting forth an article, not only declaring that such a right had been assumed, but boldly vindicating it by an appeal to *history, existing usages*, and to the realized results of the operation of the principle.

Then, on page 227,—

"To ascertain how far the system of polity established in British India is calculated to promote the advancement of agriculture, it is necessary to be acquainted with the principles upon which it is founded. These, like almost all the principles that regulate despotic states, are neither very numerous nor complicated, and present not many difficulties in their investigation. The first and most fundamental, as has already been observed, acknowledges *the sovereign to be the sole and absolute proprietor of the land*. Another recognises no intermediate class, not merely official, between him and the *bona fide* cultivators; in whom, upon condition of paying to the sovereign a certain proportion of the produce, is vested, by a third, the hereditary possessory property of the soil."

So much for the assumption of a right of proprietorship in the soil by the government of British India. But I have not yet done with J. H. He loves "historical records," and shall have them: and fortunately I had not to send to London for them; I had not to enter the Portico, or the Athenæum, or the Chetham Library; I have entered no room but my own, and that a small one, a dull one, and a back one in Lever-street; and, from the books I have with me there, I derive all the authorities I now produce. When I go beyond the precincts of my own narrow room, then shall I revel in usages and records, proofs, demonstrations, and evidences; and J. H. shall, if he pleases, command me to produce ten times as many more as I produce to-night. Now, what says Mr. Robert Rickards, than whom few men were ever more familiar with the "historical records" and "existing usages of India"? For who was he? He was a gentleman who spent twenty-three years in India; who filled the highest situations under the government there; who returned, and occupied a distinguished place in the Commons house of parliament; and who has given to the world two bulky volumes, as full of "historical records" and ancient "usages" as the most voracious lover of these things, even J. H. himself, could possibly desire. What says Mr. Rickards?

"Our revenue systems in India are founded on the principle adopted into the political practice of our government, that *the sovereign is the proprietor of the soil*, and as such entitled to one-half the gross produce, or thereabouts."

What says he again?—

"The choice of despotic precedents, the farthest removed from natural justice, has been preferred in our several (revenue) settlements."

And again:—

"On the principle of Mahomedan taxation, one-half of the produce is taken as the ransom of the husbandman's life. The commentary of Jagganatha leaves the whole earth itself to the discretion of the protective conqueror. *The main pillars of the permanent settlement stand on no better grounds than these.*"

And yet again he says:—

"When the British power supplanted that of the Mahomedans in Bengal, we did not, it is true, adopt the sanguinary part of their creed; but from the impure fountain of their financial system did we, to our shame, claim the inheritance to a right to seize upon half the gross produce of the land as a tax; and wherever our arms have triumphed, we have invariably proclaimed this savage right; coupling it at the same time with *the senseless doctrine of the proprietary right to these lands being also vested in the sovereign*, in virtue of the right of conquest."

Such is the evidence of one of the most enlightened and just-

"The value of the right of occupaney, or, in other words, the amount of the rent of the land which the cultivator can secure to himself, depends wholly on the character and position of the rural population of the country, or *the degree of resistance* which it is able to oppose to the exactions of the state."

So that it depends upon the amount of physical resistance to the exactions of the state. There is the tenure, there is the principle upon which they occupy. "Occupy as long as you can; occupy while you are strong enough to resist. Are you the warlike Rajpoot of the mountains? Then we'll take when we can get. But are you the docile and timid inhabitant of the plains of Bengal? Then will we squeeze from you the last grain that you are able to give, and leave you no more than what is sufficient to hold your body and soul together, until you can grow for us another harvest."

"In Bengal and the adjacent provinces, from the peculiarly timid character of the inhabitants, and the open and exposed nature of the country, this resistance was of the smallest possible amount, and consequently the value of the right of occupaney—[You perceive Mr. Crawfurd only calls it a right of occupaney]—in the peasant was here reduced to little more than *the privilege of labouring for the benefit of others*, on his paternal acres. This also, although not quite to so extreme a degree, may be considered the condition of the peasantry of the whole of the great, open, and exposed plain of the Ganges, comprehending more than half the population of all Hindostan."

Then, having shown you, from Mr. Crawfurd, who is *not* the proprietor, but who is the occupier, just so long as he can resist the state—let us see who is the *bona-fide* proprietor. It would not have been very far for J. H. to travel, from page five to page nine, ere he accused a public man, whose all of influence depends upon his character for veracity—methinks it would not have been a long journey for so intellectual a man as J. H., who has stored his memory so carefully with historical records and ancient usages, to have gone forward a few pages, where, without even dipping into the new paragraph, he would have found in the margin, "The sovereign, the effectual proprietor."

"The effectual proprietor of the Indian soil was, of course, the party that received, under whatever name, the greatest part of the rent,—and this was unquestionably the sovereign. In Bengal, the occupant—and there was no material difference in other parts of India—was entitled to a share of the crop proportioned to the amount of labor which he expended in its production. This hardly ever exceeded *two-thirds* of the crop, while of lands in full cultivation, that is, of lands which he and his ancestors had improved by their accumulated labor and capital, in clearing the forest, and in the construction of dykes, water-courses, and other works for facilitating irrigation, he was entitled only to *two-fifths*. The remainder, in both cases, went to the state, after some petty deductions to village officers, and subtraction of the tithe already mentioned to the hereditary collector of the land tax. The government, in a word, received, or more correctly speaking, aimed at taking a land-tax equal to eighteen shillings in the pound of the net rental—that rental itself computed, on an average, at one-half the whole produce of the soil. *The state, of course, was therefore, to all intents and purposes, the virtual proprietor*, and the share of all other parties was far too trifling to give them a moment's claim to be considered in this light."

Think you, sirs, we have disposed of J. H. ? But not for his sake, but for yours, and for the sake of this great cause, whose humble advocate I am, I will say something more upon this subject. I now go to another authority. I hold in my hand two volumes, written and published in India, and submitted, paper by paper, as written, to the investigation of all the company's servants in office there. The writer is the Hon. F. J. Shore, brother of the present Lord Teignmouth,—a

Now having shown you to what extent we tax the soil of India,—*viz.*, the Christian conquerors, the enlightened and benevolent governors of India,—namely, to the taking of one entire half of the gross produce of the soil; let us see how the Emperor of China taxes his subjects. I have here Mr. Medhurst's interesting book, entitled "*China; its State and Prospects*;" and on the 67th page Mr. Medhurst says:—

"The revenue (in China) is derived principally from the land tax, which is paid partly in kind and partly in money; it is generally a very light impost, amounting not, as some suppose, to one-tenth, but more generally to one-fiftieth, or one-hundredth of the produce."

Then here is a table showing the proportion which the land-tax bears to the revenue raised in other ways; and then he says,—

"In the report of the Anglo-Chinese College for 1829, there is an estimate of the amount of land-tax paid in different provinces, extracted from the collection of statutes of the Tartar dynasty, by which it appears that the average rate of the land-tax *per acre* (or Chinese acre, somewhat smaller than an English acre,) is from 15 *cash* to 100, or from one penny to sixpence; this, when calculated at its highest value, and multiplied by the number of acres in China under cultivation, will amount to about twelve millions sterling. This statement agrees with the common report of the natives, who affirm that *from one to two per cent.* of the produce is the utmost of what is exacted by government in the shape of land-tax."

You may now contrast the condition of the cultivator in India with that of the cultivator in China, and you may judge who is practically the best landlord; the governor-general at Calcutta, who sways the sceptre of the Great Mogul, or his "*celestial majesty*" at Peking, who is Emperor of all China; the Chinese cultivator paying *two per cent.* according to his own account, and the Indian cultivator paying, according to the account of those who tax him, no less than *forty-five per cent.* of the entire produce of the soil. I shall read J. H. a few verses from this sacred volume now in my hand, the Old Testament, and I will then conclude this part of the subject. Let us go back to the first land-tax, and I think it will not be wholly uninteresting, and I trust not at all unpalatable to this audience, to listen to a solution of this question, as furnished in the pages of holy writ. Let us turn then to the forty-first chapter of the book of Genesis, and beginning at the fifty-fifth verse, we read that,—

"When all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread; and Pharaoh said unto all the Egyptians, Go unto Joseph: and what he saith to you, do. And the famine was over all the face of the earth; and Joseph opened all the storehouses, and sold unto the Egyptians; and the famine waxed sore in the land of Egypt. And all countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy corn: because that the famine was so sore in all the lands."

Then, in the forty-seventh chapter we read as follows, commencing with the fourteenth verse:—

"And Joseph gathered up all the money that was found in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, for the corn which they bought: and Joseph brought the money into Pharaoh's house. And when money failed in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, all the Egyptians came unto Joseph, and said, Give us bread; for why should we die in thy presence? for the money faileth. And Joseph said, Give your cattle; and I will give you for your cattle, if money fail. And they brought their cattle unto Joseph: and Joseph gave them bread in exchange for horses, and for the flocks, and for the cattle of the herds, and for the asses: and he fed them with bread for all their cattle for that year. When that year was ended, they came unto him the second year, and said unto him, We

it? It was found to be the lifeless body of a man who had died with his hand in his mouth, from which he had already devoured the fingers. And yet we are told that we have nothing to do with India. And yet we are branded as impertinent, as fanatics, as quacks, as legislators self-selected, when we meet as we now do to open the holiest fountains of our hearts, and pour out our tears over myriads of the human family, dying in our own territory. Must we be abused? Then come abuse, heaps upon heaps; and let us take it gladly; and when covered most with the filth that the interested and pensioned partisans of a corporation shall throw upon us, let us think this disgrace all glory, if we may but by our combined exertions snatch a perishing people from the jaws of death. Ho tells us that mothers met them, and offered the fruits of their bodies for a few measures of rice, and that had the government but employed some of the revenue wrung from these poor wretches, to put steamers on the Ganges, corn might have gone from Calcutta to the heart of the district where the famine raged, in one month.

But there they lived, and famished, and died. Who is there that weeps over their ashes? If we dare to shed a tear, we are told, in this country, that we are meddling with matters that are foreign to us,—matters that are beyond our conception, and equally beyond our reach; and that we ought to be content to leave the business in the hands of those who are appointed the guardians of the empire they profess to rule. I am neighbour to every man that breathes. No man can annihilate my responsibility. No man can take from my shoulders my own accountableness to the God who made me. I must judge for myself; I must do what I can, little though it be, knowing that he who gives little will demand little; but that, where he bestows one talent, he will not allow us to bury that talent in the earth, and say to him, "I knew that thou wert an hard master, gathering where thou hadst not strewed, and, therefore, I hid my lord's money in the earth." I say to the men of Manchester, "This is your question. In many lights, and in the most solemn aspects, it is yours. At your peril, let profit, or reputation, or friends, prevent you from becoming the friends of the natives of British India. They are your kinsmen according to the flesh; they are your subjects by citizenship; they are immortal like yourselves; they are disfranchised, and they look to you; their tears are helpless; yours can never be shed in vain. Cherish, then, those tears, and let them flow, and like a stream, increase; and let the nation pour its tears into a common channel, and soon that mighty stream of sympathy and fraternal love shall wash away for ever the institutions which bring about those dire events."

Now, sirs, it is a fact worth knowing and keeping, that during the prevalence of this famine, rice was going every hour out of the country. Two hundred and thirty thousand, three hundred and seventy-one bags, of one hundred and sixty-four lbs. each—making thirty-seven millions, seven hundred and eighty thousand, eight hundred and forty-four lbs. were exported from Calcutta. Where? To the Mauritius, to feed the kidnapped Coolies. Yes; to feed the men who had been stolen from the banks of the Ganges, and the hills adjacent, and dragged from their native shore, (under pretence of going to one of the company's villages,) to grow in the island of Mauritius what they might have grown in abundance upon their own fertile, but over-taxed land. The total amount of rice exported from Calcutta, during the famine in 1838, was one hundred and fifty-one millions, nine hundred and twenty-three

been effected. I refer to them with pleasure, because they prove that the regeneration of India is not an object for which we are forbidden to hope. I refer to the emancipation of the press; to the abolition of the power of summary deportation; to the introduction of the native vernacular tongues into the judicial and revenue courts; to the establishment of a better system for the administration of justice; and to the repeal of heavy and oppressive transit duties in many parts of the country. These are the main improvements that have been effected; others are yet in course of prosecution, and I rejoice in the dawning of a better day for India, and will give to those engaged in the work the credit due to them as laborers in a glorious field. But I cannot shut my eyes to what remains to be done, nor will I ever cease to urge upon my countrymen that it is their duty to watch over India, and to interpose for India, till the last Hindoo shall have ceased to call in vain for bread, and every man shall have enough, and every man to spare.

I may just take this opportunity of remarking, that since last I had the honour of addressing you, our Committee in London have received very encouraging letters from British India. Our operations are there exciting the attention, which it is natural to expect amongst a people to whom these operations refer; and I have no doubt that we shall soon number amongst our most efficient and zealous coadjutors, many of the distinguished natives of India, and many of the liberal Anglo-Indians of that country. Sirs, you will be glad to learn, that many distinguished men, servants of the company, are amongst our best friends, our warmest supporters in this good cause. And we are exceedingly anxious that those who are connected with India in any way, should come with us in this great work. When time and opportunity are afforded me, I shall make the attempt to show what advantages will accrue to the company as a company, by the accomplishment of our great object; that in all respects they will be benefitted; that they will rest more securely in their own dominions; that they will administer the affairs of the country with less complexity, and less of every thing disheartening and disagreeable; and that they will increase to an indefinite extent the revenue which they derive from that empire. All this is as demonstrable as that there is good to be done, as that "honesty is the best policy," as that "godliness is profitable to all things."

I have in my hand a pamphlet, dated June, 1839, by the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, which communicates to you especially, (for Manchester is particularly named) some valuable information on the subject of cotton growing. I am sorry that time will not permit me to give you a very large portion of the contents of this very interesting and valuable document, which is contained in a report of the proceedings of the Agricultural Society of India, and is entitled, "A summary of the success which has attended the efforts of the Society, at introducing the American and other varieties of foreign cotton into India." There are two or three paragraphs so striking, so confirmatory, I am thankful to say, of all I have advanced on this subject, that I am tempted to solicit your attention for a few moments to them. It is not yet late, and perhaps you will bear with me while I take this opportunity of furnishing to you, and, through this meeting, to this district at large, the information which this valuable pamphlet communicates. This document is a letter addressed to Dr. Spry, (of whose authority I have more than once availed myself,) to Wm. Lindsay, Esq., Secretary to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. He says

the former gentleman estimates the value of the sample within a penny a pound of the Brazilian grown cotton, then in the Liverpool market; the real Pernambuco being seven pence halfpenny, and the 'Bengal Pernambuco' six pence halfpenny the pound.

"From Upper Hindostan, Mr. Huggins states that the produce of the plants from the American seed was much more abundant than any of the descriptions of cotton he has seen in the country; the pods more than double the size; and the quality of the cotton, of which he sent a sample, he desired should speak for itself.

"From Tavoy, the commissioner writes to the secretary of the society, under date Moulmein, June 5th, 1833, of the Pernambuco seed, sown by him in that province, that it is much valued by the Tavoyers, who replanted every seed that could be collected. The people prize it on account of the length of staple, the facility in separating the seed from the cotton, and the advantage it possesses in being a strong and hardy plant, and perennial. At a meeting on the 18th April, 1833, Mr. James Kyd presented a sample of Sea Island cotton, grown on Saugor island, from imported American seed. After careful inspection by the committee, it was pronounced to be the best specimen of the growth of India that had, as yet, been submitted to the society: and the value set on it was from one shilling to one shilling and two pence per pound, which, at the time, was nearly three times the value of the indigenous Bengal cotton.

"While these accounts were coming in from distant places, the society was devoting the greatest attention to the propagation of the foreign seed at its farm at Akra; and the returns of the year 1832-33, show a produce of *forty-three hundred pounds of cotton wool, and one hundred and twenty-eight pounds of seed.*

"From the fertile arinaecous tracts along the line of the Delhi Canals, the most satisfactory report was received. Major Colvin, to whom the distribution of the Upland Georgia and Sea Island seeds was confided, writes, in August, 1834, that the quality of the Upland Georgia sown by him along the line of the Delhi Canal, is infinitely superior to the common country kinds."

This is the answer they give to the question—"Can foreign cottons be grown in India?" I have only had the opportunity of inspecting the pamphlet for a few moments before entering the meeting.

In September, 1835, Mr. Patrick, superintendent of the Fort Gloster Cotton Mills, writes as follows:—

"Accompanying are twenty-four bundles [five pounds each] of twist, spun from the cotton grown at Akra farm, under the superintendence of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society; also one piece of cloth [ten yards] made from the twist spun and wove by the power-loom; and one piece [twenty yards] made by the native hand-loom. This cotton I have carefully watched through the various stages of cleaning, carding, roving, spinning, &c., and have no hesitation in characterising it as equal to the very best Upland Georgia cotton; its staple is fully as long, and I would say stronger and better adapted for mule spinning than any I have imported direct from America.

"My own opinion with regard to the cultivation of Upland Georgia cotton in India, judging from what I have seen of it, when tried under great disadvantages, is that, if judiciously prosecuted, it would ultimately be crowned with the fullest success."

Then again:—

"On the 16th October, 1836, Captain Dixon, alluding to the foreign cotton seed in his neighbourhood, writes that the cotton is of a very superior quality, and, compared with the country kind, it is as *silk to wool.*"

"About this time intelligence was received of an interesting kind, from the political agent at Loodiana, stating that there was a great desire expressed by the people of the Punjaub, to be supplied with *foreign cotton seed*; and that, in reference to seed formerly sent to him, the cotton appeared to thrive better than the indigenous kind, which was not very generally cultivated. At Ferozepore, now the new military station, he saw several plants of the American cotton growing there luxuriantly in a garden; and, on inquiry, it was found that the

may be assumed, that the Upland Georgia and Egyptian is the seed best calculated for introduction into the interior and upland parts of India; while the Pernambuco, Peruvian, Seychelles, Bourbon, and Sea Island may suit best along the line of coast. Another circumstance not less important than the foregoing, in forming an estimate of the capabilities of the Indian soil, must also be attended to, and that is, the poverty of the working farmer in this country, which is such, that, to procure food for himself and family, and at the same time to meet the calls of the landlord and government collector, he is compelled to force the powers of his soil to the utmost extent, and, as is well known to those who have resided in the provinces, to re-sow in the harvest-land of March, seed that will ripen in October; or, as we have seen recorded in the body of this summary, three different kinds of seed at once, the whole of which ripens irregularly, leaving the longest, which is usually either the cotton plant or sugar cane, to ripen last, amidst the wretchedness of an impoverished soil—a system which, if destructive to the proper developement of the pods of the common annual herbaceous cotton plant of the country, must be immeasurably so to the success of the foreign perennial trees of which we seek the introduction.

“To define the provinces into which the culture can be introduced with the best chance of success, would be, in Hindostan, to enumerate parts of Behar, the Dooab, especially the banks of the Jumna, and the line of country through which the Delhi and Dooab Canals run; Rohileund, Bundelkund, and the rich and fertile valley of the Nerbudda. Of the Western Provinces of the empire we have Guzerat,—the seaports of which, Surat and Boraoch, have been celebrated as cotton ports from the time of Arrian downwards; the line of country extending along the Western Ghauts to the Carnatic, where some of the finest cotton, as at Salem and Tinnivelly, which India has ever produced, has been grown.

“The last consideration, and one of vital importance, is the means which the society possesses for prosecuting this national work with efficiency. The least attention to the economy of a single institution, such as the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, although consisting of five hundred persons, the largest ever associated in a body in India, is sufficient to show its total incompetency to embark on that enlarged and workman-like style of labor, which shall at once develop the fitness of India to supply the cotton markets of the world, and render the mother country independent of her foreign supply. The offer of a fitting bounty, either by reducing the assessment on lands on which foreign cotton seed is grown, or by stimulating industry by larger grants as prizes, properly belongs to the state, whose revenues would be proportionably enhanced by such an enterprise, or to a body of capitalists anxious to reap a rich harvest of gain by so promising a speculation. All that the society can do is, to the utmost extent of its power, to give its funds gratuitously to the support of this national culture, by continuing to introduce seed, and urge by every means at its disposal the adoption of the measure, the success of which, if pursued on a large and persistent scale, and such only does the magnitude of the stake merit, must lead to a successful and lasting issue.”

I am exceedingly grateful for the attention you have kindly given to these extracts. I have not read them more for your benefit than for the benefit of others who are not in this house to-night, by whom they will be read with interest. The pamphlet I have been permitted to use through the courtesy of the directors of the Chamber of Commerce; it is doubtless the only copy in Manchester; therefore I could not withhold long extracts, when I knew the question of cotton-growing in India was one of so vital importance to the interests of this town. You see we ought to get cotton from India. Every report and statement assures you, that India might supply the world with cotton. There are no contradictory statements here. Every thing is confirmatory. Why, then, do we not get cotton from India? I have a letter in my hand which forms an appendix to the report, and what the report does not tell you this letter shall. Why do you not get your cotton from India? Hear what the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Bengal writes to the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce in your own town of Manchester. Notwithstanding the fertility of the soil, its

deem it a solemn duty to bring into notice whatever systems and regulations we deem injurious to the people of India, and derogatory to the dignity, honour, and usefulness of the British name. And the utterance of that word "regulations," reminds me that I have with me at this moment a number of regulations at which, as Britons, we well may blush. What is one of them? Sirs, we meet here, none daring to make us afraid. Does any grievance afflict us, or any imaginary wrongs affect us, or any monopoly assail our commercial interests, or do we think that our liberties are yet too circumscribed? Halls, chapels, open areas, market places, exchanges, squares, are open to us, are hallowed ground, on which the foot of freedom loves to tread; and every hill around your own great town may give you back the echo of your voice, when you uplift it in the cause of freedom; and you may set at defiance, while peacefully and legally assembled, all efforts to scatter you, or to stifle the voice that is uttered on behalf of the great principles of truth and justice. And hence we get that which we seek, when we ask for that which is just, right, and reasonable. We get it when we deserve it; that is, when we ask it with one heart and one mind. But may the people of India assemble? No. The privilege of telling one another their woes is denied them. Hear a regulation set forth at Fort St. George, Madras, in 1831:—

"Persons, twelve or more in number, assembling for riotous or rebellious purposes, or for the purpose of interfering with or obstructing the collection of the revenue, and refusing to disperse when called upon to do so by the local authorities, and re-assembling after having dispersed, shall be liable to be tried by the court of circuit, and on conviction shall be sentenced to imprisonment, for a period not less than three nor exceeding ten years."

Oh, if you knew why that was framed, and what would be regarded as an infraction of that regulation, you would not want me to tell you what kind of government it was under which the people live where that regulation is in force. They cannot tell their wrongs; they are forbidden. They go from the thankless field to the miserable hut, and return again in the morning to toil, and retire again at eve; and unless—as even the worm will turn again—suffering and oppression become intolerable, and ruffle even the spirit of the mild and docile Hindoo, he bears his wrongs till death, and dies yet unavenged. Now, I say, we shall deem it our duty to denounce and expose such regulations. Again, the attention and feelings which may be awakened we shall seek to direct into the best and most influential channels. The constituted authorities will not be overlooked in our endeavours to do good to India: they will be reminded of their responsibility—they will be urged to the performance of their duty—they will be given to understand, that our full determination is to carry to parliament, as the final court of appeal, the cause of the injured native of India; and that while that cause shall never be sullied by calumny, vituperation, or causeless complaint, so neither shall it be disgraced by sycophancy, subserviency, or a timid submission to the unreasonable demands of any corporation, however ancient, however powerful, or however upheld by the smiles and co-operation of the state. We know, sirs, that there are many causes predisposing our countrymen to look with interest and expectation to our possessions in the East. Within the last few days, since our last assembling here, we have received the intelligence of a victory which has brought under our immediate influence a large additional territory—the position in which we stand to several nations

**THE
COTTON-TRADE OF INDIA.**

THE
COTTON TRADE OF INDIA.

PART I.

ITS PAST AND PRESENT CONDITION;

PART II.

ITS FUTURE PROSPECTS.

WITH

A MAP OF INDIA,

COLOURED TO INDICATE THE DIFFERENT SPOTS WHEREON ALL THE VARIETIES
OF COTTON WHICH ARE BROUGHT INTO THE BRITISH MARKET
HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFULLY CULTIVATED.

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN BRIGGS, F.R.S.

&c. &c. &c.

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

M.DCCCXLI

THE COTTON TRADE OF INDIA.

PART I.

ITS PAST AND PRESENT CONDITION.

Read before the Royal Asiatic Society on Saturday, 16th Nov., 1839.

Among the several vegetable productions of the East, there is none superior in national importance to cotton. It is believed that India, including the states dependent on and independent of Great Britain, lying within that area embraced by the river Indus and the Himalaya Mountains, and surrounded by the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean, contains a population which may be fairly estimated at one hundred and fifty millions of souls, and that about two-thirds of that immense population is under the dominion of Great Britain. Its inhabitants are our fellow subjects, and its soil is at least as fertile as any equal superficies on the face of the globe. These nations, for they are numerous, living for the most part within or on the verge of the Northern tropic, have been entirely clothed in cotton from a period anterior to historical record.

The ordinary dress of a male Hindo, which is here exhibited*, consisting of a dhoty, containing 4 square yards,
of a dhoty, containing 3 " "
and of a turban, containing 1 1/2 " "

Is not less than . . . 2 1/2 yards, weighing above 3 lbs.

If to this be added the sarri, or simple

female dress, containing . . . 3 yards, weighing . . . 1 1/2 lbs.

We have . . . 2 1/2 yards, weighing . . . 3 lbs.

* Exhibited in the Museum of the Royal Asiatic Society.

annually, from four to five hundred millions of pounds of cotton wool. The greater part of it is raised by slave labour, either in North or South America; and not one-tenth part is imported from our own East Indian possessions. Indeed, so completely dependent are our manufacturers at present on the continent of North America for the material, that there has been paid one million sterling within the last twelve months, to the merchants of the United States alone, in excess of the price of the former twelve months for the same quantity, and combinations are forming to raise and keep up the prices by withholding the commodity: a circumstance solely owing to the absence of the requisite supply from other quarters.

It is quite natural to ask; Why is this? Why is it, that a cotton-growing country like India, a part of the British empire, whose fabrics surpass in fineness, as well as in durability, those of our own looms, is unequal to the supply of the raw material to England, in sufficient quantity to meet all its demands? Is it that the free labour of India is more expensive than the slave labour of America? Not at all. For while the unwilling American slave, who has to be watched and driven to work, costs his owner eighteenpence a day, the services of an intelligent active free man in India is to be had at from twopence to threepence a day throughout the whole country. Is it that the land of India, however fertile it be, is already so occupied by other more profitable products, that none is left for the grower of cotton? Not so; on the contrary, it is computed that about one half of the land of all sorts, fit for cultivation, is lying neglected, overgrown with forests, and inhabited only by wild beasts. It is neither then the absence of waste lands, nor of a willing and active population; nor the price of labour; nor the unsuitable nature of the soil; nor the climate, that prevents cotton being grown in sufficient quantity for our own use, when, if proper encouragement were given to the cultivator, it might supply the wants of the whole world. There are other causes, some of which are closely connected with the administration of the country and with its financial system, which I shall refrain from touching on in this place; but I hope to be able to show to this meeting, that India, with her free population, may supply cotton in any requisite quantity, as good, and cheaper, than America or any other country can with slave labour. The information on this topic being unfortunately scattered through many volumes, it seemed to me desirable to compress it into as concise a shape as the nature of this extensive question admits. I have, there-

tures, and the fact, that 2,000,000 lbs. reached the market from India for the first time, in 1789, through the circuitous route of Flanders and Denmark, and not direct, through the English East India Company. These circumstances, however, roused that body to exertion; though the sale of its Indian cotton cloths was not yet materially affected. In the same year, the Company directed their Governor-General to dispatch to England on trial, cotton wool to the extent of 500,000 lbs.; but so novel was the demand that the commission could not be executed; nor was it for ten years afterwards that it became an article of considerable import into Great Britain from the British territory in the East.

Although the supply of raw cotton on this sudden requisition was inadequate to meet even so small a demand, owing probably to want of information on the part of the Indian authorities; yet the latter immediately set on foot inquiries that led to a full and interesting report, which was transmitted to England from Calcutta, in 1790. An abstract of this report will be found in a work, published in December, 1836, for the use of the Court of Proprietors of East India Stock, "On the Culture and Manufacture of Cotton Wool, Raw Silk, and Tobacco in India." The report alluded to embraces the statistics of the cotton trade in thirty-three collectorates, extending from Benares throughout the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, then comprising the whole of the British dominions under the Bengal Presidency. In all this great extent of country, with the exception of Benares and Dacca, a very insufficient supply was raised for the use of its inhabitants, and, according to the extract of the report annexed, it amounted on the whole to 7,217,128 lbs. to clothe a population, since ascertained to be not less than forty millions, which does not allow of three ounces of cotton for each person. The deficiency was supplied from the neighbouring territories, and was wrought into cloths, part of which was consumed on the spot; but a very large quantity was exported by the East India Company to Europe and other countries.

TABLE exhibiting the QUANTITY of COTTON grown in the Districts under the Bengal Presidency in the Year 1790.

	lbs.		lbs.
Bhirboom	740,000	Mymemsing	quantity unknown.
Bisheupoor	740,000	Morshedabad	6,600
Burdwan	3,708,000	Nuddea	220,000
Jessore	464,000	Purneah	not specified.

The demand for cotton, both for export as raw material, and for cloth manufactured in Bengal, subsequently experienced a rapid increase. In 1802, in addition to 17,280,000 lbs. brought to Mirzapore from the south, the districts on the north and west of Calpy supplied 25,920,000 lbs., of which no less a quantity than four millions of pounds were manufactured in the city of Benares alone, and the remainder, being nearly 40,000,000 lbs., were distributed along the banks of the Ganges, or reached Calcutta; but none of this supply is believed to have then left the country in its raw shape.

In the same year, a transfer to the British Government took place by the Nabob of Oude of the territories lying between the Ganges and the Jumna. This acquisition was supposed to be peculiarly valuable to the Company; on account of its capability of growing cotton of an excellent quality, and to a great extent.

The following extracts from the official documents, and the reports of the Bengal Government about that period, to the Court of Directors, exhibit the condition of the cotton market under the Bengal Presidency.

“No. 8.

“*Extract Report of the Import and Export Trade of Calcutta, by Sea, for 1796-7.*

“The average cost of cotton cleaned from the seeds at Jalown and Calpy, in the Mahratta country, may be estimated at eight sicca rupees per maund, of 102 sicca-weight to the seer, (being about 2d. per pound,) which is generally subject to the following charges and profits, viz:—

“1st. Charges of transportation, Vizier's and Company's duties, and profit to the exporter to Mirzapore.

“2nd. Profit to the merchant at Mirzapore, including warehouse rent, &c.

“Charges of transportation, Honourable Company's duty at Manjee, and profit to the transporter to Bogwan Gholah, or other adjacent places.

“4th. Profit to the merchant at Bogwan Gholah, including warehouse rent, &c.

“5th. Charges of transportation, and profit to the transporter to the place of ultimate sale.

164,500 lbs. were imported into the district of Canara, from the contiguous Mahratta district of Dharwar, and from Bellary, which was purchased in that year, on the coast, at 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb., the greater part of which was sent to Bombay for exportation.

TABLE exhibiting the QUANTITY of Cotton grown in the districts under the Madras Presidency in the year 1811.

	lbs.		lbs.
Ganjam	628,000	Coimbatore . . .	much cultivated,
Vizagapatam	400,000	Tinnevely . . .	ditto.
Rajah Mundry	125,500	Kurpich	1,375,000
Masulipatam	quantity not specified.	Bellary	5,070,000
Guntur	1,520,000	Computed for Masulipa-	
Nellore	none.	tam, Coimbatore, and	
Tanjore	none.	Tinnevely	6,010,000
Cuddalore	3,815,225		<hr/>
Tondiar	355,000	Total cotton in 1811 . .	25,800,000
French Districts, Madras	6,575,210		<hr/>

	lbs.
Bengal Presidency	7,217,128
Madras	25,000,000
Bombay	27,000,000
Total	<u>59,217,128</u>

Since that period India has exported in the raw material to England and China alone, independent of manufactured cloths, in one year, viz. 1818-19, as much as 139,219,986 lbs. (*Vide* Table annexed.) But the greater part of this cotton was grown in districts not within the British jurisdiction*.

ABSTRACT of the QUANTITY of COTTON, the growth of India, exported to London and China, with the prices affixed, for each year between the years 1817 and 1834.

Years.	Imported into England.	Price per lb.	Imported into China, including Company's Trade.	Price per lb.	Aggregate of both.
	lbs.	d.	lbs.	d.	lbs.
1817-18	40,294,250	14	66,321,736	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	106,515,986
1818-19	86,555,000	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	52,664,986	6	139,219,986
1819-20	62,405,000	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	45,658,008	5	108,063,008
1820-21	20,294,400	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	20,727,915	6	41,022,315
1821-22	10,626,000	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	37,268,194	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	47,894,194
1822-23	6,742,500	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	28,317,726	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	35,060,226
1823-24	13,487,250	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	25,222,720	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	38,709,970
1824-25	17,596,100	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	29,880,603	6	47,476,703
1825-26	21,175,700	9	39,870,304	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	61,046,004
1826-27	22,644,300	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	50,585,085	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	71,229,385
1827-28	23,742,150	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	69,547,764	5	93,289,914
1828-29	29,670,200	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	50,695,490	4	78,365,690
1829-30	23,147,700	4	41,989,629	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	70,137,329
1830-31	12,324,200	5	71,260,201	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	83,584,401
1831-32	26,628,900	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	63,942,940	4	90,571,840
1832-33	30,249,750	5	61,797,650	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	100,047,400
1833-34	33,139,050	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	65,547,132	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	98,686,182

Having shown how great is the capability of India for growing cotton, I shall now make a few observations on the article grown.

* The greater part of the cotton imported from India into England is re-exported to the continent of Europe.

gathered; whereas the thread of other cottons do so, more or less, and thus alter the texture of the cloth. The manufacturers tried the cotton from the eastern hills; that from Sironje, in Malwa, and also the finest kind from Surat; but none answered for the finer webs; and though much pains have been taken, and frequent efforts made to grow the Dacca cotton-plant in other districts, the produce invariably deteriorated, and eventually changed its character altogether*.

John Crawford, Esq., in his *History of the Indian Archipelago*, says:—

“There is a fine variety of cotton in the neighbourhood of Dacca, from which I have reason to believe the fine muslins of Dacca are produced, and probably to the accidental discovery of it is to be attributed the rise of this singular manufacture; it is cultivated by the natives alone, not at all known in the English market, nor, as far I am aware, in that of Calcutta. Its growth extends about forty miles along the banks of the Megna, and about three miles inland. I consulted Mr. Colebrook respecting the Dacca cotton, and had an opportunity of perusing the manuscripts of the late Dr. Roxburgh, which contain an account of it; he calls it a variety of the common herbaceous annual cotton of India, and states that it is longer in the staple, and affords the material from which the Dacca muslins have been always made.”

Of all the cottons which found their way to the Dacca factories, none was superior to the growth of Sironje, as may well be believed; for when, in the year 1789, the common cotton of the district sold at four rupees, six and a-half annas, the Sironje cotton brought as much as nineteen rupees in the same market.

On referring to the Madras report, it is found that the whole tract of country lying along the coast between Cuttack on the north, as far south as Palam-cottah, was not found favourable to the growth of the indigenous cotton; and much of that used by the inhabitants was brought thither from the interior.

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, in his *Tour through Tippoo's Dominions* in 1801, speaks of an excellent triennial cotton grown in the district of Coimbatore, yielding 425 lbs. of cotton with the seed; that is to say, more than 100 lbs. of clean cotton per acre.

* It is to be regretted that we have no accurate description of the plant, which produced this cotton. It is clear that the soil, the climate, and the locality of Dacca alone suited it better than any other where it was tried.

Mr. Fleming has confidence, with the view of ascertaining more critically the rank which that description of cotton ought to take in the market.

(Signed) "ALEX. DENNISTOUN and Co."

BROKER'S REPORT REFERRED TO.

"The MB.* five bales we should call a good quality of Manilla cotton. The staple is too short to take a high stand: it is very nice as to colour and cleanliness. The staple is hardly so long as good Orleans; it has been seen by several experienced spinners, who appear to agree in the above opinion. The value of the five bales is 10*d.* to 10½*d.*; and were there a constant supply, it might take rather a higher stand.

(Signed) "GEO. HOLT and Co."

MB.	2 half bales Manilla,	at 10½ <i>d.</i> per lb.
	2 half ditto,	at 10½ <i>d.</i> per lb. *
	—	
	4	

An erroneous opinion long prevailed, that cotton was a plant confined originally to the East, from whence it spread to the West. It is surprising that such an idea should have gained ground, since the Spanish historians relate that Columbus found it on the Bahama Islands when he first discovered America in 1492, and that the Spaniards imposed an annual tribute of twenty-five pounds of cotton and a hawk's bell full of gold-dust, on all the natives of Hispaniola, when they took possession of it. This does not prove it to have been cultivated on the continent to the north of the Isthmus of Darien; but it certainly grew abundantly on the islands and in South America; since, it has been discovered in the tombs of the ancient Peruvians. Egypt at one time grew or received cotton from India; for the well-known and intelligent traveller, our countryman, Dr. Bowring, found the cere-cloth of a mummy of a child made of cotton—a circumstance of common occurrence—and not of linen, as is the case with adult mummies. Dr. Bowring states also, that in Upper Egypt they have an indigenous cotton; and it is asserted by others that the cotton plant is found wild in the interior of Africa. The fact of the introduction of the cotton plant into North America within the last fifty years, probably gave rise to the idea that it was brought from India, where it was known to exist among the ancients. The history of the first attempts to grow the cotton in the United States, which has since

* Surats sold in the same year at 6½*d.*, *vide* table, p. 11.

was long known in the market as Bourbon cotton, which Dr. Royle and others conceive to be the same as the Sea Island. The culture of cotton, however, was given up more than twenty years ago on the French islands, owing to a fly, which, penetrating the capsule, destroyed or discoloured the fibre.

Previously to the abandonment of its cultivation, the seed of the Bourbon cotton had been brought to India, and it was reared in different parts with various success. The experiments commenced with the government of Bombay so early as 1803, when it sent home a few bags of Bourbon cotton, grown on a farm in Guzerat; and, in the letter from the Court of Directors, dated 12th June, of the same year, it is thus alluded to:—"The Bourbon sold for 2s. 2d., and the indigenous cotton at 15½d. per pound." Of the latter they observe, "that it was not *so much* inferior in quality to the other, as the difference in price would indicate, but it was not so well cleaned from seeds and extraneous matter." This is easily accounted for: the Bourbon cotton was grown under European supervision, whereas the indigenous was taken as part of the revenue, and the gatherers and cleaners had no particular object in rendering it fit for sale.

In the year 1809, orders were sent from England to increase the quantity, but in 1810 it was found the article hung on hand, and was directed to be discontinued. The efforts to grow the Bourbon and Egyptian cottons, however, did not cease. The government of Bombay then first discovered that these foreign cottons thrived best on sterile lands, and it is so stated in their letter to the Court, dated 30th May, 1812, a proof of which was afforded by the success of an experiment made on the island of Caranja in the harbour of Bombay. The cotton grown there from Bourbon seed, was reported on as superior to any yet produced in Guzerat. The circumstance of the Bourbon cotton flourishing on sterile lands seems to have been unattended to, or forgotten. For in a letter, dated 17th April, 1816, to the Court of Directors, the Bombay government writes, that the crop of Bourbon cotton had failed on the same spot where the indigenous plant produced plentifully. This the government conceived was owing to "*an essential difference in the Guzerat and Bourbon plants.*" The former never exceeds two or three feet in height, it has but few or no shoots or branches, and a limited number of pods; while the latter grows into a large shrub greatly exceeding, even during the first season, the plant indigenous to the country, expanding its branches richly laden with cotton to a great distance." In order to prevent failure in future, the

In furtherance of these instructions, the Bombay government established three new farms, one in Candeish, another at Poona, and a third at Dharwar; under the supervision of Dr. Lush, and the farm at Guzerat was placed under Mr. Finck, a person long accustomed to agricultural pursuits in India.

Great pains therefore have, it seems, been taken by Government, and the success as far it has gone has been complete, in growing good cotton, but no beneficial results have arisen to the public, either in India or England, but a mere knowledge of the facts. The reports on the cottons are hereby subjoined.

COTTON REPORT, p. 274.

No. 101.

REPORT on *Sixty-Two Bales of Cotton, from the Experimental Farms in Guzerat, received per ship "Lady Feversham," in 1834.*

Marks on the Bales.

Experimental Farm. 31 Bales, B. Guzerat 1833. Churka.

7 Bales, above marks, and Saw-Gin, 1833.

1 Bale, above marks, and Saw-Gin. New Orleans, 1832.

4 Bales, Guzerat B. 1832.

Experimental Farm. 1 Bale Guzerat, New Orleans, Saw-Gin, 1832.

1 Half Bale, Guzerat, Saw-Gin, 1832.

From Perennial Farm at Seegeehulee, 2 Bales White Seed, November, 1832.

Quality.

Good cotton, with fine staple, a little of the leaf. Appears equal to fine Surat, now worth $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $8d.$ per pound.

Very clean showy cotton, but injured in the cleaning; the staple very short, and apparently cut; $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound.

Very clean showy cotton, better staple than the preceding (seventeen bales), but somewhat injured in cleaning; $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $9d.$ per pound.

Very ordinary staple, short, and there is a good deal of broken leaf; $6d.$ per pound.

Good cotton, very clean and bright, pretty good staple, but rather injured in cleaning; $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $9d.$ per pound.

Sample of very uneven quality; partly cleaned and of fair staple, and partly mixed with broken leaf; $7d.$ to $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound.

Very clean and showy, but some part greatly injured in cleaning; mixed with small white knots (or useless fibre), which are very objectionable; $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound.

No. 103.

REPORT on a Box of Specimens of Cotton received from Bombay, per ship "Boyne," in 1834.

Marks.

No. 1. Common Bazaar, dirty Cotton. Foot-roller.

No. 1. New Orleans, Saw-Gin, altered.

No. 2. Common Bazaar, dirty Cotton; seed separated by Saw-Gin, cylinders revolving 210 times in a minute.

No. 2 (bis). Ditto; ninety times per minute.

No. 2 (ter). Ditto; 300 times per minute.

No. 2°. Very small specimen. New Orleans; Saw-Gin; bowed and carded.

No. 2°. New Orleans; Saw-Gin, and bowed.

No. 3. Dharwar Cotton; brought clean from the field; seed separated by the foot roller.

No. 4. Ditto; by Saw-Gin.

No. 4°. New Orleans, Churka, and bowed.

No. 5. American Annual, green-seeded, Dharwar, Saw-Gin.

No. 5°. New Orleans, Saw-Gin, altered.

No. 6. White-seeded perennial (first crop injured by rains), Saw-Gin.

No. 7. White-seeded perennial (November, 1832), Saw-Gin.

Quality.

Badly cleaned, tender staple, and stained; value about 6½d. per pound.

See remarks on first sample per *Lady Nugent*, which apply here, except that the staple is rather less injured by cleaning; value about 9½d. per pound.

Not well cleaned from leaf, and the sample a little injured; value 7d. per pound.

Nearly free from seed, but some leaf remains; a little injured by machine; value 6½d. per pound.

Foul, with seeds and leaf.

Clean, but the staple injured.

Good cotton, quite clean, but the staple a little injured; value 9½d. per pound.

Well cleaned, good staple, and very little injured; value 8½d. per pound.

Very clean, but staple injured; value 8d. per pound.

Well cleaned, good cotton; value 9d. per pound.

Similar to sample No. 2, per *Lady Nugent*; value 8d. to 8½d. per pound.

Much like No. 4°, but slightly injured by the machine.

Clean, but the staple much cut; value 8d. per pound.

Like sample No. 1, per *Lady Nugent*; perhaps rather preferable; value 9½d. per pound.

colour common to Indian cotton, but that is no advantage. The growth of the United States is white.

"The Egyptian specimens above described are full as brown as the merchantable cotton imported from Egypt; but that colour is not a disadvantage, as the cotton bleaches well. The seed cultivated in Egypt, with so much success of late years, is understood to have been from Pernambuco, in which country the produce is remarkably white.

"May it not be advisable to order some seed to be sent from Egypt to Bombay, by the shortest route, as early as possible? The endeavours which were made in 1829-30 to procure some seed from Egypt, *via* London, were unsuccessful."

By the last overland dispatch, a copy of the Proceedings of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, for June, 1839, has been received, at the end of which is a valuable abstract of the history and results of the attempts made in Bengal to grow American cottons, and a notice is accidentally brought in of the discovery by a Mr. Ewart, of a few plants of the Bourbon cotton, raised from the seeds of Mr. Gilder's abandoned plantation in Guzerat. Extracts:—

"At the meeting of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, held at Calcutta, in March, 1839, a highly interesting note was presented by the late Mr. Ewart, of this city, received by him from his brother, who has been largely engaged in cotton spinning at Manchester, but is now residing at Bombay. The note states that Dr. Burn, at Kaira, has fifty or sixty trees of Bourbon cotton, three years old, some of the produce of which was shown to Mr. Ewart; that gentleman pronounced it to be excellent cotton, quite equal to the best New Orleans cotton. The seed from which these trees are grown, was taken from trees which Dr. Burn found growing wild, but which were planted at Kaira, fifteen years ago, by Mr. Gilder. The seed does not seem deteriorated; it is black and smooth, not like the Indian seed, to which the cotton adheres so firmly." The reader, on referring to page 18, will recognise them to have been the remains of the Government experimental farm, which was afterwards given up.

"At the subsequent meeting in May (last month) the late Mr. Ewart presented, for the Museum of the Society, two specimen parcels of this cotton wool, which was justly extolled. One parcel was freed of seed, the other contained the cotton as plucked from the tree. The cleaned cotton had been separated from the seed at Bombay by the American saw-gin, which was found to have cut the staple, and thereby injured the quality of the cotton in the market. The cotton

measure, be appreciated by their proceedings on the article of cotton alone.

Dr. Royle, in an excellent article on this production, in his splendid work illustrative of the botany of the Himalaya Mountains, alludes to a very fine sample of cotton, brought from the Silhet hills by Mr. Bracken, a merchant at Calcutta, which, on examination by an experienced cotton-dealer, was pronounced to be on a par with the best cotton grown on the Sea Islands in America. This is mentioned as a proof how favourable that part of India must be to the growth of this material.

In the Transactions of the Agricultural Society of India, to which I have before alluded, and which has already published five volumes, we find accounts of the various attempts to grow the foreign cottons in different parts of the Bengal Presidency; for it has been already shown that most of the indigenous cotton used in the East of India was brought from a distance.

Mr. Vincent, of Nujufghur, speaking of the culture of the indigenous plant, in the tract of country lying north of Allahabad, and situated between the Jumna and Ganges, states that it is raised at considerable expense; that the land is richly manured after the wheat and barley crops are gathered in, and that the cotton produces as much as 328 lbs. of clean cotton an acre; whereas we have seen, that Mr. Duncan's estimate for the fertile district of Benares does not exceed 84 lb. an acre.

The reports on cotton extend to all the dependencies of the Bengal Presidency, and even to the Burmese empire. Colonel Burney, the British Resident in Ava, sent, in January, 1832, specimens of cotton grown on the Irrawaddy, very closely resembling the Pernambuco, of which Mr. Willis, of the Gloucester Mills, near Calcutta, reports, "that the fibre is long, fine, and good, well suited for their spinning machinery; it is readily freed from the seed, and has doubtless been of good strength, but has become impaired in this respect from want of care in transporting it. Such cotton-wool would in Liverpool, in proper condition, be worth from $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound, which is about the price the Pernambuco fetched in the market in 1831."

I am indebted to Colonel Burney for a specimen of Pernambuco cotton, raised at Tavoy in the Tenasserim coast, which on examination is found equal to the Pernambuco cotton, imported direct from South America this year into Liverpool.

value cotton equal to this specimen in Liverpool, at $5d.$ to $5\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound*."

On the 21st of March, 1833, Mr. Huggins, of Allahabad, forwarded specimens of the cotton raised there from Upland Georgian seed. He considers from his experience that the soil ought to be of a light description, (the *Homel*, or a mixture of sand and clay.) Heading-in the plants may or may not be had recourse to. Mr. Huggins thinks it may strengthen the plant, but it causes it to produce later in the season.

Mr. Findlay, of the Gloucester Mills, reports on the 31st of July, as follows, on a specimen of cotton grown from foreign seed on the coast of Tenasserim, and also on some Sea Island cotton grown by Mr. Kyd, on Sauger Island, on the Delta of the Ganges.

1st. "I consider the Pernambuco cotton (raised at Tavoy, on the coast of Tenasserim,) to be a most excellent specimen of that description. It is both strong and long, and pretty equal in staple, and I should say, would readily fetch $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ at home, (in England.) This would be a most desirable quality of cotton for the Gloucester mills."

2ndly. "Respecting Mr. Kyd's Sauger Sea Island cotton, I must say that it far excels any specimen of the kind which I have seen in the country yet. It has all the strength of staple necessary for its length and fineness, and is very equal; and I would say, fit for fine spinning: it is worth $14d.$ per pound at least†.

(Signed)

"JOSEPH FINDLAY."

Mr. Leyburne writes from Shahabad on the 7th of July, 1837, sending a small packet of cotton raised from Egyptian seed which was highly approved of. He remarks: "One important feature in the produce compared with the cotton grown near here is, that the Egyptian yields one half cotton, and the other half seed; whereas the country cotton has three parts seed and only one of cotton, set aside the superior staple of the former."

Mr. Harris, of Kishnagpur, also sends on the 27th of July, 1837, samples of cotton raised there from Egyptian seed, and another parcel of brown Nankin cotton raised at Barcilly; also some Pernambuco

* In the year 1832, the Uplands and New Orleans varied from $5d.$ to $9d.$, and the Surats from $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $5\frac{1}{2}d.$

† Mr. Holt's table of prices for 1832, the same year, gives:

Pernambuco $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $10\frac{1}{2}d.$ Sea Island $9\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $18d.$

by this Society; also a sample of Manilla cotton, grown in the same place.

"3rd. From W. C. CRANE, Esquire, dated 6th July, 1837, presenting a specimen of Sea Island cotton, grown at Singapore, from seed forwarded by this Society.

"SINGAPORE COTTON.

"The specimen of 'Sea Island' cotton grown at Singapore, from American seed, and presented by Mr. Crane, is, according to my opinion, superior to either of the other samples before me.

"It is silky; long in staple, with a strong and even fibre. We cannot, however, form a correct estimate of the average quality of the cotton from this plantation, as it appears by Mr. Crane's letter, that he has sent us '*only a few of the first pods*,' which have, no doubt, been carefully picked.

"The soil, however, 'sandy and near the sea,' appears to be well adapted for this variety, and if the whole crop will bear any comparison with the first portion produced, this experiment at Singapore may, I think, be considered as very successful.

"The Upland Georgia cotton does not seem to be so well adapted to the soil and climate, being woolly, and the seed separable with difficulty; but the staple is good.

"MOULMEIN COTTON.

"The quality of the cotton presented by E. A. Blundell, Esquire, (particularly No. 4) is so superior, that I much regret the quantity produced did not answer Mr. B.'s expectations. On perusal of his letter, I was induced to make inquiry of Messrs. Gilmore and Co., regarding 300lbs. which Mr. Blundell forwarded to those gentlemen; and through the kindness of Mr. Crawford, I am enabled to append the following memoranda, and to present in his name to the Society, specimens of the cotton in its several stages of manufacture; viz.,—rove, cope, and thread.

"It will require about No. 60—is very fine, and of good staple, lost much less in proportion than the country cotton, and is worth from 18 to 20 rupees per maund—(about 5d. per lb. in Calcutta.)

"The remaining specimens are so inferior to the foregoing, that I prefer leaving my colleagues, who are so much better qualified than myself, to append an opinion.

(Signed)

"C. HUFFNAGLE."

"I agree with Dr. Hufnagle in his remarks on the Singapore

cultivation of the cotton seed, viz.:—calamities of season, bad seed, ignorance of the proper seasons for sowing, choice of land ill-suited to the growth of cotton (being either too rich or too salt), and an improper mode adopted in the sowing.

“5. The Committee, however, appear to be sanguine in their expectations of the benefits which will ultimately be found to result from the facts which their labours have elicited, especially that which fixes and determines the description of seed most likely to become generally cultivated throughout India, namely, the Upland Georgia plant, which the Committee of the Society appear to be confident will ultimately supplant that which is indigenous to the country. ‘Too much attention,’ the report states, ‘cannot be paid to secure and distribute, by every possible means, from time to time, a quantity of this description, until it shall have taken deep root in every part of India.’

“6. We have submitted to competent judges the samples of cotton, cotton twist, and cotton cloth, referred to in the letter from the Secretary to the Society, and the following is their report on the same:—

No. 104.

East India House, June, 1836.

Report on seven small Bales of Cotton forwarded to the Court of Directors by the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, dated Calcutta, 19th October, 1835; per ship Bussorah Merchant, arrived February, 1836.

Mark.

No. 1. From Upland Georgia seed sown in 1831, gathered in spring of 1832. Cleaned by saw-gin.

No. 2. Ditto, 1832-3. Cleaned by saw-gin.

No. 3. Ditto, 1832-3. Cleaned by saw-gin.

No. 4. Ditto, ditto; Churka.

No. 5. Bourbon seed; 1831-2. Saw-gin.

Quality.

Very middling; clean, but poor uneven staple, slightly injured in cleaning, brownish colour. Estimated value 7½d. per pound.

Good, fair, clean and bright; more even in staple; 9d. per pound.

Not so clean; 8½d. per pound.

Fair uneven staple, a little leaf remains; rather higher colour; 8d. per pound.

Very middling, tolerably clean and good colour, much injured in staple

Upland Georgian cotton; it was however fifteen months old, and had never produced a pod. I had seen the practice of browsing down the cotton in Persia, and had had some horticultural experience in India, and told the superintendent, that I thought the plants ought to be headed-down, as is done with many plants, the growth of a temperate climate, such as roses, figs, and vines, at the same season. This advice, however, was neglected. Meanwhile nature performed that which man neglected; a violent hail-storm occurred in the month of March following, and literally left nothing but the stumps of the plants, which yielded in the following year an abundant crop of good cotton; and the committee of the agricultural establishment accordingly strongly recommended the introduction of the Upland Georgia on an extensive scale, as affording cotton of as fine quality as that produced in America from the same sort.

In September, 1835, Mr. Patrick, superintendent of the Fort Gloster cotton mills (near Calcutta), writes of it as follows. "Accompanying are twenty-four bundles (five pounds each) of twist spun from the cotton grown at the Akra farm, under the superintendence of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society. Also one piece of cloth (ten yards) made from the twist spun and wove by the power-loom, and one piece (twenty yards) made by the native hand-loom.

"This cotton I have carefully watched through the various stages, of cleaning, carding, roving, spinning, &c., and have no hesitation in characterising it as equal to the very best Upland Georgia cotton. The staple is fully as long, and I would say, stronger and better for mule spinning than any I have imported from America.

"My own opinion with regard to the cultivation of Upland Georgia cotton in India, from what I have seen of it is, that if judiciously prosecuted, it would ultimately be crowned with success."

Colonel Colvin, whose plantations were in the neighbourhood of Dehli, in a paper read before the Society, dated 1st May, 1836, observes:—"The experiment of cotton has commenced on a large scale, the sowings altogether amounting to 150 acres from seeds formerly sent by the Society." He had only been able to secure the Upland Georgia plant which thrrove well, *while the seed of the Sea-island did not vegetate well, and the plants were cut up by the frost in December.*

"At the ordinary monthly meeting of the Society, held in February, 1837, Colonel Colvin presented a large bag, containing upwards of eighty pounds of Upland Georgia cotton, which he had

4. "The several collectors will be instructed, through the Board of Revenue, to afford all the assistance in their power to the commercial officers in Tinnevely, Coimbatore, Masulipatam, and Vizagapatam, in establishing and managing the proposed experimental cotton-farms, with the view of introducing the culture of an improved species of cotton. The object in view is of much importance, and worthy the attention of Government; and its attainment, probably, will admit of being secured, or its impracticability be ascertained, without subjecting the Company to any heavy expense.

"Fort St. George, 8th June, 1819."

No. 46.

Extract. Madras Board of Trade General Report, dated 30th September, 1819.

35. "With a view to assist in the desirable measure of extending the cultivation of the Bourbon and other valuable cottons, and the ascertaining the congeniality of the soils of various districts to the growth thereof, we had, under the sanction of Government, commenced the introduction of cotton-farms, of about 400 acres each. These experimental dépôts were not sufficiently advanced to enable us to enter here into any observations respecting them. Tinnevely and Bourbon seed was distributing by every opportunity, and we trusted that a very large quantity of valuable seed would be produced in those experimental nurseries, which would be available for such parts of the Peninsula as experience shall prove were best adapted to the object which was in view.

36. "We had much satisfaction in noticing the progress that was making in respect to the realization of a cotton investment in Coimbatore. A large quantity was expected to arrive before the setting in of the rainy season; but it was apprehended not sufficiently early to enable us to transmit a muster bale to the Honourable Court on the chartered ship *Catherine*. A very recent letter from Coimbatore holds out a confident expectation of an investment of between 1500 and 2000 candies of cleaned cotton being available in that district in the ensuing season; and it was our intention to urge the provision of the article in that district to the fullest practicable extent. By the conclusion of January, a large quantity of cotton would be on hand, ready for exportation; and when the extent of it shall have been ascertained on sufficiently accurate data, we stated that we would have

without the fibre being entangled, are also indispensable, and may be greatly marred by the process of beating with sticks, so as to occasion that entanglement. Managed as the present consignment has been, (so much superior to the preceding fifteen bales,) any quantity would here meet a ready sale, and I should suppose would amply recompense the trouble and care which it demands. We think this a matter of so much importance, that we have taken a sample from these bags, which we intend to accompany this letter, that, by reference to it, you may keep in view the qualities that would always command this market."

On reference to the Liverpool price-current of the same year, I find that good Upland Georgia cotton sold at from 20*d.* to 23½*d.* sterling, and New Orleans at from 20*d.* to 25½*d.*, while the best Surats brought only 17½*d.* to 20*d.* The superiority of Mr. Hughes's cotton seems, therefore, according to the letter above alluded to, to have been valuable chiefly on account of the care taken in separating the wool from the seeds.

Mr. Heath's experiment of the Bourbon cotton was made in the districts of Coimbatore and Salem, removed 100 miles from the sea. He grew the plants on a *light soil, composed chiefly of decomposed granitic rocks*; and having caused Mr. Hughes's paper to be translated into the native language, and by a good deal of personal trouble, he succeeded, in 1823-24, in procuring from the district of Coimbatore 500 bales of clean Bourbon cotton, of 300 lbs. each; and the natives were by that time so well satisfied of its superiority, that, had encouragement been continued to them, he is of opinion that the description of indigenous cotton sown in the Coimbatore district would have been entirely superseded. On the situation of Company's Commercial Agent being abolished, the supervision of Mr. Heath ceased; no merchants were on the spot ready to take the produce; the poor cultivators had not the means, for want of roads and capital, of conveying the cotton to a market; and the cultivation has now given way, as Mr. Heath observes, to the edible grains of the country.

In the year 1832, the East India Company sent out to Madras a considerable quantity of American cotton-seeds, of sorts, among which were both Upland Georgia and Sea Island, which were distributed to the collectors of Salem, Coimbatore, Arcot, Kurpah, and Guntoor. Unfortunately, the season was unfavourable, on account of drought; and on the whole the experiment was a failure. In the Salem district, where Mr. Heath's success had been so great; Mr. Orr, the

which were reduced into a report by Dr. Wight, a medical officer, holding the situation of naturalist at that Presidency. It is impossible to read this paper without wishing to see the whole republished in England, but it is too long to come within the scope of this article.

The following is an abstract of the Report and the amount of produce raised in each district:—

“GANJAM.—Very little indigenous cotton is grown, and the American plants have had no fair trial. Produce, 94 lbs. clean cotton, per acre.

“VIZAGAPATAM.—Three kinds of cotton grown. The annual early white, the triennial white, the triennial red.

“The first is topped when the plants are three feet high, to strengthen it.

“The second and third are cut down to the ground after the cotton has been gathered: the produce is great.

“Seeds of Sea Island, Upland Georgia, sowed in gardens, succeeded well, and produced fine cotton. Average produce, 290 lbs. of clean cotton per acre.

“MASULIPATAM.—This is not a cotton-growing district, and only very little is cultivated. That which is, however, is an annual and not pruned: the produce is 50 lbs. of clean cotton per acre.

“RAJAHMUNDY.—Two sorts are cultivated; the indigenous plant on black cotton soil, which produces 94 lbs. an acre, and a red, or brown cotton, which thrives only in a light soil, the tax on which is not half that which is levied on the black soil; the produce is found, in good seasons, to be equal to 125 lbs. an acre, and is profitable. Both these are treated as annual plants, but Dr. Wight considers they might be converted into perennial, or, at all events, triennial, by pruning, and that the soil on which the latter is grown, would answer for the Bourbon and New Orleans, and Upland Georgia of America.

“GUNTOOR.—Drill husbandry is adopted in this district for cotton. The indigenous plant is grown on the black soil, but only yields 62½ lbs. of clean cotton per acre. The Bourbon and American seed both failed in the same soil, but there are parts of this district near the sea, where the soil is light and saline, which it is believed would answer well for the American seeds.

“TANJORE.—The indigenous cotton, in this district, is cultivated as an annual, and yields a fair produce of 103½ lbs. of clean cotton per acre.

successfully introduced, many years ago, the Bourbon seed, and which takes its stand above all the Indian grown cottons yet brought into the market. The black soils enjoy the preference for the annual indigenous cottons; but the lighter sandy soils for the triennial. The Bourbon cottons are extensively cultivated, and apparently with much success, but the comparative advantages of the indigenous and foreign kinds, are known only to the cultivators. On the whole, the produce is very low, being only $69\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. per acre, of clean cotton. The average produce of cotton in the Madras provinces, cultivated without manure, is about 108 lbs. per acre."

With regard to the Madras cottons in general, it is satisfactory to be able to state, that the proprietors of the Gloucester Mills established, about ten years ago, near Calcutta, and where it was found requisite at first to import American cottons, have now given the latter up, and they use for the spinning of their best threads the cotton grown on the Coromandel coast.

Before concluding this report, I am anxious to make a few observations on the mode of cultivating the plant in India, and the alterations which seem desirable, to which I propose adding a few remarks on cotton soils.

On the subject of cotton cultivation in India, we can hardly have better evidence than that of Dr. Lush, who had the superintendence not only of a botanical garden at Dapoory for many years, but of an experimental farm at Seegahully in the Dharwar district; and has also witnessed its growth at Guzerat. In Broach, he states, the black soil though it has an admixture of sand, is very retentive of moisture. To this mixed character of the soil he ascribes the fineness of the staple, but considers that it causes it to be shorter. He found in Dharwar wherever there was a great admixture of kankar or nodules of lime, the staple of the indigenous cotton became flimsy, resembling a cobweb.

Dr. Wight, in his essay on the Madras system of culture, complains that the natives neglect to change their seed, and, in most instances, sow their cotton broad-cast, mixed up with various other seeds. In Guzerat, and on the Malabar coast, it is frequently sowed intermixed with rice, which is usually planted from seed beds. In Dharwar, and generally throughout the Deccan, cotton is sowed in drills, about three feet apart, frequently without any other seeds, but very often with a few plants of Indian hemp, '*Hibiscus Cannabinis*.' It is carefully hoed when the plants are eight or ten inches high, and

is of great importance; Dr. Lush found it advisable to pick the cotton early in the morning, before the dry leaves become friable from the intense heat of the day, and each picker was supplied with two bags, the one to carry the clean cotton, the other to receive those portions which were soiled or mixed with dirt. In the part of the country where he carried on his experiments, the pickers were not paid in money but in kind:—of the first gatherings they received an eighth—of the second one-fourth, and of the last one-half. He calculated that to procure the cotton to be picked under inspection, it would be necessary to pay at least, if not more even than, 25 per cent. of the gross produce. Dr. Lush prefers an instrument he calls the foot-roller, particularly described in the Cotton Report of the East India Company of 1836, as removing the seed more perfectly and with less injury to the staple than any other. The saw-gin appears to be calculated only for the American Upland Georgia and New Orleans. The common revolving roller of India used in Guzerat, Madras, and Hindustan, called *churka*, seems to answer better than any instrument that has yet been invented. It has been already shown that the indigenous cotton of Western India when carefully prepared for the market is an excellent commodity, and will yield to the merchant a large and profitable return; but without European supervision in the first instance, it is vain to expect that the mere offering of premia, as has been done by the Government, will induce whole nations of a sudden to adopt any system different from that to which they have been accustomed from the earliest ages, and from which they derive very considerable profit, owing to the ready sale of the article such as it is for all their own domestic purposes. But to the European manufacturer and merchant, cleanliness is a point of the utmost consequence, for two reasons: first, that where there is much dirt in an article so light as cotton, that dirt frequently forms a very considerable portion of the gross weight of the commodity, as much as *one third*; secondly, the expense of the labour that is devoted to divest it of the dirt becomes a large ingredient in the cost price of the manufacture whether as thread or cloth.

The inland American cottons were formerly cleared of the seed by the process called *howing*, a practice common in the East, as well as in the West, to divest the cotton of the dirt which is so much complained of by our manufacturers in the present day; but the latter find fault with the cotton so cleaned abroad, although all of it is subjected to a process somewhat similar, after it is imported. In some manufactories, the cotton is spread over net-work frames, and is

"When exposed to a strong heat, the organic matters which they contain are destroyed; these are of two kinds, the one being portions of plants, fibrous matters, &c. in a state of decay, and the other consisting of very finely divided and soluble matters. These vary from four and eight per cent., and in the subsoils from one and a half to four. Besides these substances, the soils also contain traces of saline matter."

Mr. Porter, in his work, entitled *The Tropical Agriculturist*, observes, p. 8: "The cotton plant (of America) succeeds better in light and sandy soils, than in such as are heavy and clayey." P. 9: "Volcanic deposits are found to be without any comparison the most favourable of all soils for the vegetation and production of cotton. Fine sand, the particles of which are held together by a small portion of clay or calcareous earth is scarcely less desirable, and particularly if mixed with a certain quantity of decomposed vegetable matter. The plant in these cases, although its growth is not luxuriant, will furnish an abundance of cotton of excellent quality, and what is of great importance, it arrives sooner than usual at maturity."

"Cotton may be cultivated on soils of such very moderate fertility, that it would often be difficult to procure from them any other kind of harvest." P. 8: "If the soil be too rich, the shrub will push forth vigorously, and produce a great quantity of flowers; but these will soon fall, and the hopes of the planter will be disappointed. The same misfortune occurs when the ground is surcharged with moisture, besides which the seeds first, and at a later stage the roots, are liable to rot."

"If the soil is sterile and too dry, and these defects are not corrected by means of manure and artificial watering, periodically performed, the plant will scarcely develop itself; it will languish, giving little, if any produce, and inadequately returning the expense of cultivation." Mr. Porter, who was for some years in the West Indies, derives his information partly from personal experience, and partly from persons who have grown the plant in America.

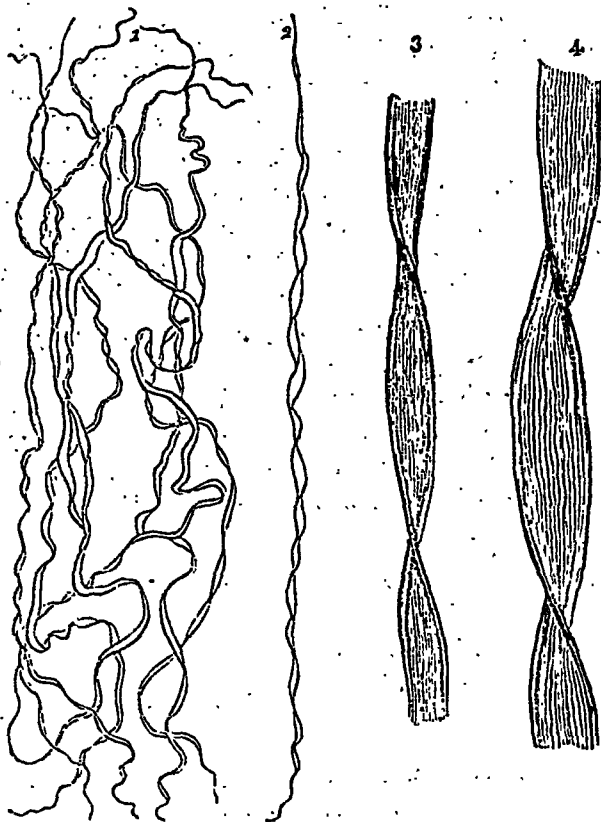
Mr. Gray, a very intelligent merchant, who many years ago went out to the estate of Messrs. Hamilton and Cowper, on St. Simon's Island, and was personally acquainted with Mr. Spalding, corroborates the information of Mr. Porter, and the result of Mr. Solly's analyses.

With regard to the soil of the Sea Islands, Mr. Gray also confirms the statement of Dr. Ure, vol. i., p. 101, wherein he alludes to it in the following words:—

becomes very saponaceous, and is found to be composed of particles of almost impalpable fineness. It readily absorbs and retains the moisture, and forms an extremely tenacious clay. In the months of December, January, and February, when the dews are heavy in the northern part of the Peninsula and Malwa, the surface of the cotton ground assumes a fine mouldy appearance. It generally overlies a white or gray marl, which I have found very beneficial in improving this land. The soil I have been describing, may be termed the great trap field of India; its extent, according to the map which accompanies this memoir, and which is traced from the several geological surveys that have been published, covers an area of 200,000 square miles, and with the exception of the mountains themselves affords space for the cultivation of the indigenous cotton, sufficient to supply clothing for the whole human race. All the American cottons have been found to fail in it, and an erroneous notion prevailed that they would not succeed in India at all, while experiments in other parts on different soils proved successful. A reference to the map will show the spots on which the several varieties of the American plants thrive best, and it seems they are affected by climate as well as by soil. Thus the Upland Georgia and New Orleans have not flourished to the south of Calcutta. The Egyptian has succeeded in two localities in Bengal and Behar, but the Sea Island has failed everywhere in the interior. The Pernambuco or Brazil cotton has yielded well, both on the Coast of Coromandel, and along that of Tenasserim. The Sea Island has answered at Vizagapatam, at Sauger island, and Singapore; and the Bourbon, wherever it has been planted, whether in Guzerat, in the southern part of the Peninsula, or in Mysore, but the produce seems to decrease as we approach the Equator.

Of the origin of the varieties of the cottons now growing in the East, we have very imperfect information, and we can only venture to assert with confidence, that the common indigenous cotton of India is that known to botanists under the title of *Gossypium herbaceum*, which seems to be the same as that of Africa and the south of Europe. In consequence of an observation made in a public lecture delivered at Manchester a short time since on the growth of the Indian cotton, I thought it would be interesting to carry out inquiry beyond that of the information contained in the lecture alluded to. The observation was made by Mr. George Thompson, who expressed himself in the following language:—

Examined with a compound microscope manufactured by Powell, with a lens which magnifies five hundred times linear measure, the fibre appears composed of innumerable minute flexuous tubes, of equal diameter, disposed longitudinally and closely aggregated together. Upon the surface the tubes seem to be arranged in a longitudinal parallel series, which gives to the fibre a delicately fluted or striated appearance.



No. 1. A few of the dried fibres of cotton, showing their characteristic twisted appearance and interlaced arrangement, when viewed with a magnifying power of one hundred linear measure.

No. 2. A single fibre, showing its tapering and twisted form.

No. 3. Part of a fibre of Sea-Island cotton magnified five hundred times linear measure, exhibiting its tubular structure.

No. 4. Part of a fibre of New Orleans cotton, showing its broader and thinner appearance, and also displaying the peculiar tubular structure, magnified five hundred times linear measure.

Pernambuco	{	maximum	inch. $1\frac{9}{16}$
		minimum	$1\frac{1}{8}$
Tavoy	{	maximum	$1\frac{9}{16}$
		minimum	$1\frac{1}{8}$
Upland Georgia	{	maximum	$1\frac{9}{16}$
		minimum	1
New Orleans	{	maximum	$1\frac{1}{8}$
		minimum	1
Surat	{	maximum	$1\frac{1}{16}$
		minimum	$\frac{1}{2}$

The difference of length in the same cotton, depends upon the length at which the fibre is broken from the seed. The entire fibre should taper finely to both ends, the adherent end being slightly the thickest; frequently the end of the fibre retains a certain size, in which case the whole length of the tapering portion is broken off.

The threads of Indian and English fine cloth contain about the same number of fibres:—in the English thread I counted thirty-five; in the Indian thirty; but the fibres of the latter were so closely compressed as to defy separation without the loss of a few fibres.

The relative lengths of staple of these cottons are more obviously expressed in the following diagram:—

Egyptian	_____
Sea-Island	_____
Pernambuco	_____
Tavoy	_____
Georgian	_____
New Orleans	_____
Surat	_____

From the above notes, we find that moisture has a tendency to unravel the tortuous nature of the cotton fibre; that the Sea-Island and Surat then assume a more cylindrical form, and, consequently, a narrower and finer appearance than the New Orleans, which is the broadest and flattest of all. It is to this circumstance may be ascribed the more close adhesion of cotton

PART II.

ITS FUTURE PROSPECTS.

IN the former pages of this treatise I have, I think, demonstrated that India has for ages been a cotton-growing country. That its indigenous cotton, when properly attended to, can be brought into the British market in a condition very nearly equal to the inland American cottons, and that there are 200,000 square miles of soil suited for its growth, about one half of which is at present out of cultivation.

The experiments made to grow the cottons foreign to India, such as the Egyptian, Sea Island, Inland American, (that is to say New Orleans and Upland Georgian,) Bourbon, or West India Island, and Pernambuco or Brazil cotton, have more or less succeeded in those parts of India where the native plant does not thrive, and the map, with the explanation appended, shows in what provinces the several varieties of the Western plant have succeeded; omitting all notice of those where the trials have failed.

I would here, however, call the reader's attention to the circumstances under which these attempts have been made, in order to show that the results afford the most cheering hopes of success on all future occasions. Almost the whole of these trials to grow the Western cottons have been conducted by amateur planters. They have been stimulated by no present pecuniary motive, nor by any future commercial expectation. They have, for the most part, been public officers of the Government, influenced by no stronger incentive than the gratification of horticultural or agricultural curiosity. They have embarked no capital in the speculation; nor do they pretend to any knowledge of the subject whatever, yet we find that whether along the coasts or in the interior, whether on fine sandy deposits near the sea shore, or in gravelly tracks inland, one or other description of the most valuable kinds of American cottons have thriven well, so that there is every reason to conclude, that the Western cottons of the best quality may be grown in perfection in many parts of India. In such a country, however, where there is so great a demand for

far back as 1789, who observes,—“The gain of rearing cotton is about sufficient to allow a bare subsistence to the husbandman, and not much more. In fact he has no inducement to attempt to get more, for the Zemnidar (the government collector) would probably wrest it from him; and this must continue *till such time as settling the largest jumma (assessment) and incurring the least balance shall cease to be the highest point of official reputation; till the demands of Government shall be known and determined, and till the laws shall protect individuals against occasional, partial, and uncertain attempts to increase the revenue.*” Mr. Bebb returned to England, and was for many years an East India Director, and until his death, which happened not long since, he always advocated the same enlightened and benevolent policy as is revealed in the above sentiments.

The necessity of fixing the land-tax in perpetuity in the Company's provinces in India was very generally admitted by all the public servants for many years previously to the time when it took place in Bengal, and both the Ministers of the Crown and the Court of Directors hailed with apparent satisfaction the permanent settlement made by the Marquis Cornwallis, in 1793, in the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. Nothing could be more wise than the principle which limited the demand of the State for ever on the land, so as to admit of the soil yielding a rent to the landholder, and becoming a valuable saleable property, to the improvement of which every motive of self-interest combined. Unfortunately this settlement was made with the wrong persons, and the real proprietors were in some degree by law viewed as cultivating serfs of the manager of the district. Without entering minutely into this question, on which so much has been written, I may just remark, that each Hindu village is in itself a small republic, having its own municipal laws and managing its own concerns. The lands of the village belong to the original occupants, who, in the language of the country, are called (as in Scotland) the heritors. These elect one or more head men or managers of the concerns of their body, and of these one usually is the representative between the village and the government. In ancient times, the whole of the crops of different descriptions were brought together, and the State claimed and took away its portion, varying from 10 to 17½ per cent. in different places and in different ages. The Mahomedans increased this demand to 25 and even to 33½ per cent. The principle of the assessment, however, was to take a portion of the produce, it was then put into granaries for the soldiers, or converted into money either

complete as in some parts of the Bengal Presidency, where this measure was introduced. The question, however, is so far settled that the land-tax is fixed for ever; and to this fact may be ascribed mainly the success of the European planters in the cultivation of indigo, and it will, there is little doubt, now be carried out in the production of sugar. As regards cotton, however, I fear it *may* be found that few portions of those territories into which the permanent assessment was carried are favourable to its growth.

Cuttack, a province lying along the eastern sea-coast, in north latitude 21° , is strictly speaking, in the province of Orissa, but as it is an acquisition subsequent to the formation of the permanent settlement, its land-tax has been open to the same system of experiments for obtaining the largest quantity of revenues, as has prevailed in other parts of India. The village settlements that have lately been made in that province are favourably spoken of, and (as it is well situated for exportation) Cuttack may be looked to as one of the spots offering an advantageous position for commercial enterprise in cotton, as it has been clearly shown, p. 26, that the Bourbon, (a plant closely allied to the Sea Island in its character,) and the Pernambuco, both flourish there in perfection. The specimens of New Orleans, Upland Georgia, and Egyptian, from the territory lying to the northward, and westward of Calcutta, especially about Delhi, indicate fair promise of good crops of an excellent article. The water conveyance down the rivers Jumna and the Ganges to the sea, is a circumstance peculiarly favourable to its transport; though the distance cannot be less than 700, and oftentimes may be 1000 or 1100, miles from the place of its growth. The system of realizing the revenue in those districts by putting it up to sale, in lots of one or more villages, every three or five years, to the highest bidder, so entirely unsettled landed property, that its existence even was threatened with annihilation. A remedy was suggested in my work on the land-tax of India, published in 1830, (vide pages 429 to 438,) and it is highly gratifying to me to find that the plan I then pointed out has been since partially adopted, and is in progress throughout the ceded and conquered provinces under the Agra Presidency, with the material difference, however, that the assessment has only been fixed for thirty years, whereas I strongly urged its being rendered permanent, and the average of the tax assumed from the payments of the previous ten years instead of thirty as suggested by me.

This measure, incomplete as it is, will I hope open at once to the

3. Rent, or government-tax?

						Average Ster- ling per Acre.		
	R.	A.	R.	A.		l.	s.	d.
Maura pays from	1	13	to	2	8 per beegah	0	13	3
Kaibur	1	8	to	2	0	0	7	0
Teer	2	0	to	5	0	1	1	0
Purwah	1	2	to	2	8	0	10	6
Rankur	1	0	to	1	8	0	8	0

4. Period of sowing?

In Bundelkhand the cotton is invariably sown at the commencement of the periodical rains to yield good produce.

5. Reaping?

If the season is favourable, the Kuppau (the cotton with the seed) begins to be collected about the middle of September from poorer soils, but from the Maura and Kaibur, not before the end of October. In the richer soils of Beergur and Sutwarrah, situated along the foot of the mountains intersecting Bundelkhand, the cotton plants are longer coming to maturity. The Beergur and Sutwarrah are considered superior qualities of the Bandah, and sell higher at Mirzapore.

6. Produce of cotton and seed?

As the land is rich, or otherwise, and the attention that has been paid, so the produce will be. Some of the Maura lands yield as high as 9 maunds of kuppau, which will give $\frac{1}{3}$ of clean cotton, and $\frac{2}{3}$ of seed*. The Maura land on an average, however, yields half of the estimated quantity; the produce of the Purwah and Rankur is less in proportion to the difference of the soil, seldom more than an average of 40† seers of clean cotton, and 2½ maunds of seed are obtained from the Purwah, and 30‡ seers of the former, and 3 maunds of the latter from the Rankur.

7. Expense per beegah of cultivation, and picking per maund?

Cotton never being sown alone, the expense cannot be separately ascertained correctly. It is mixed either with the urheer, the tillie, or mootee. Very often these extraneous mixtures more than pay for

* This produce would, at 82 pounds per maund, be equal to 269 pounds of clean cotton per beegah, and 707 pounds per acre, or on an average 353½ pounds per acre.

† 80 pounds.

‡ 60 pounds.

Land which has had a winter crop is generally selected the following year for cotton. The seed being previously rubbed with fresh cow-dung between the hands, is sown broadcast. The cow-dung is used to prevent the seeds from adhering together, and acts also as manure. In land of this description, after the seed has been scattered, the soil is once ploughed, and the break passed over. Three soers of seed are required for one beegah*. The seeds shoot out in about five days. The plants require the first weeding in ten or fifteen days, the second in about a month, and the third fifteen or twenty days after. If the plants are found to be too thick, they are plucked, and left about a foot apart. The freer the circulation of air in the field, the better will be its produce. Some plants grow to the height of six feet, some to one foot. The plants in the black marl are on an average four feet, in the other soil two feet. The plants begin to blossom early in August, but seldom come to pod before the commencement of September.

10. Would it be difficult to introduce a new and better system of cultivation, under the superintendence of a European?

The only objection to a new system would be, I fancy, its expensiveness. It is not the want of proper supervision which deteriorates the produce so much as the poverty of the cultivators in Bundelkhund. Often the produce of the most promising fields, and of the better classes of ryots, is injured from no neglect or fault of theirs, but from the poverty of their landlords. If the zemindar, or landlord, has not immediately the means of raising money to liquidate the Government kist or instalment, the ryots are not allowed to touch, or collect the produce of their fields until security is given. The cotton, in the meantime, falls to the ground, mixes with the leaves and dust, and deteriorates in quality. *The ryots, I have had ample opportunities of knowing, could not pay more attention to their cotton cultivation, were they placed under European superintendence, than what they bestow upon it now. The removal of their poverty would more effectually tend to the improvement of quality than anything else I know of.*

11. Could a small village in an eligible situation be had in farm; and is it likely that the ryots would receive advances partly in the shape of rent, and partly in cash?

* 2½ gallons of seed per acre.

	R.	A.	P.
Brought forward	1	11	10½
Add average contract rate	2	0	0
Three seers of cotton seed	0	0	10
Cost per Laggah, exclusive of establishment	3	13	20½

In reply to the head 6 of "produce of cotton and seed," is given the average of

Manna, per Laggah	Mds.*	1	20	0
Permañ, "		1	0	0
Rakbar, "		0	30	0
		3	10	0
Direct expense of picking 1-2/4d.		0	0	3
		3	10	3
Grand average produce		4	1	3

from Balasore on the north, to Cape Camerin on the south, a distance of nine hundred miles; along which varieties of American and indigenous cottons of excellent qualities, have been found to thrive, though the experiments of the former have been limited to certain localities, and have been conducted on a small scale. Dr. Wight, to whose labours I have before alluded, has furnished us with a table showing the quantity of cotton produced, per acre, in this region, the amount of the land-tax, and the eventual profit to the grower. How he has arrived at this last item, I have no means of judging, but his table is otherwise valuable.

Dr. Wight's Table of Produce, Charge, Assessment, and Profit, on an Acre of Cotton Land, in Thirteen Districts on the Madras Coast.

Districts	Local Cultivation	Quantity of Cotton per Acre	Land Tax	Assessment	Produce	Charge	Profit
Chingleput	C. Cotton	750	1 5 0	2 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	From Aug. to Oct. 1840.
Chingleput	C. Cotton	750	1 5 0	2 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	From Aug. to Oct. 1840.
Chingleput	C. Cotton	750	1 5 0	2 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	From Aug. to Oct. 1840.
Chingleput	C. Cotton	750	1 5 0	2 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	From Aug. to Oct. 1840.
Chingleput	C. Cotton	750	1 5 0	2 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	From Aug. to Oct. 1840.
Chingleput	C. Cotton	750	1 5 0	2 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	From Aug. to Oct. 1840.
Chingleput	C. Cotton	750	1 5 0	2 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	From Aug. to Oct. 1840.
Chingleput	C. Cotton	750	1 5 0	2 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	From Aug. to Oct. 1840.
Chingleput	C. Cotton	750	1 5 0	2 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	From Aug. to Oct. 1840.
Chingleput	C. Cotton	750	1 5 0	2 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	From Aug. to Oct. 1840.
Chingleput	C. Cotton	750	1 5 0	2 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	From Aug. to Oct. 1840.
Chingleput	C. Cotton	750	1 5 0	2 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	From Aug. to Oct. 1840.
Chingleput	C. Cotton	750	1 5 0	2 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	From Aug. to Oct. 1840.

* Average of 100 lbs. of clean cotton per acre.

In the Ganjam and Virapagam districts, where the land is under the management of the native chiefs, it is found that cotton yields per acre, a profit of 10 rupees, or 17, in the former, and 17.5s. in the latter. In the

with these in order to enable him to resume his melancholy task of toiling for others."

The tract of country ceded to the British Government by the Nizam in 1799, was subjected to the process of survey and assessment above described, and, after the expenditure of some hundred thousand of rupees, it terminated in 1807-8. So advantageous was the measure then supposed to be to the people, as well as profitable to the Government, that it was anticipated a great increase of revenue would accrue to the state by the occupation of waste lands, but this expectation neither has, nor ever will be realized. The soil of this territory is chiefly of that description denominated cotton ground, and under Tippoo's government it was celebrated for the vast quantity of cotton it produced. It was divided by us into two portions of nearly equal dimensions, called the Bellaree and Kurpah divisions.

In the year 1816 the Madras Government called upon all the civil authorities of the districts under that Presidency, to report on the condition of the cotton produce in each. That from the ceded districts is extracted from the *Cotton Report; published by the East India Company* in 1836, p. 414, and is as follows.

BELLAREE DIVISION.

The collector's account, according to his own showing, stands thus:—

	£.	s.	d.
Value of 150 lbs. of cotton, produced on five acres of land, at the average price of twelve preceding years, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb., is	1	15	0
Average land-tax 18s. 50c., or 3s. $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per acre, is	0	15	$7\frac{1}{2}$
Expense of cultivating five acres, being 2p. 14f. 61c., at 7s. per pagoda, is	0	16	$5\frac{1}{2}$
Deduct expense and tax	1	12	1
Net profit on five acres	0	2	11

In Kurpah the other division of the ceded districts the collector reports, p. 413, as follows:

Par. 7. "There are four sorts of land on which cotton is cultivated in this division. The amount of the rent (tax) of one acre is stated, by the amildar, (the government officer of a small district,) to be from 19 fanams, 10 cash, to 1 pagoda and 35 cash. The expenses of cultivation from 31 fanams, 20 cash, to 1 pagoda, 21 fanams, 24 cash. *This account, however, evidently appears to be exaggerated, and the following will be found to be nearer the truth.*

	F.	C.
Average of the four sorts of land per acre	22	40
Ploughing, cooley-hire, beds, &c.	22	38

Fanams 44 78

"The produce of the same quantity of land may be estimated at 1 pagoda, 16 fanams, 8 cash, which leaves a profit of 16 fanams, 10 cash."

If we put the collector's statement in juxtaposition with that of the native officer from whom he obtained his information, but which he afterwards rejected, without any reason assigned, we shall find the condition of the cultivator to be bad indeed.

One remarkable feature pervades these reports of the European collectors of two distinct districts, made without inter-communication, which is, that they both set aside, without any assigned cause, the

the question. It is next sowed with paddy and hill-cotton. The cotton ripens and is gathered last; but it cannot be *seeded* in the jungles, where there are no people: it must be transported on men's heads, unseeded, to the coast, where there are hands. Unseeded it is of no use, therefore of no value to mortal man. 100 lbs. of cotton, *carefully* deprived of the seed in good hand-churkas, or gins, yield 75 lbs. of seed, and 25 lbs. of clean cotton. Until about four years ago the sea customs tariff of Malabar made no distinction in value between seeded and unseeded cotton, but loaded both, on export coastways, with the duty of five per cent levied on the same weight.

"This sufficiently explains why neither my father nor I sent home *any more* hill-cotton, after our experiment of 1825."

Mr Brown goes on to explain how this system works in practice.

"At that time a native merchant of Tellicherry exported (as it is called) a quantity of unseeded cotton, from a place north of Cannanore, to Tellicherry, a distance of *about sixteen miles*. He was obliged to bring it, for, owing to the demand for labour, he could not get hands to seed it at the place of export; and cotton, when left long in heaps, ferments and spoils. The merchant on this export had just to pay a duty of twenty per cent. on the value. He got his cotton seeded, re-exported it, and applied for a drawback, but, lo and behold! the cotton was no longer in the *same package* in which it had been imported, and was, therefore, not entitled to drawback. The merchant suffered a very heavy loss, and complained to the collector. The collector, a most well-intentioned man, did not very clearly understand the nature of the loss, and wrote to me. Immediately he heard from me, he set about remedying the mischief and intolerable hardship suffered, by proposing to the Madras Board of Revenue two different Tariff values for seeded and unseeded cotton.

"This value had reference to the average price of the article in the country where it was produced and exported; but the Board rejected the rate for the clean cotton, and fixed it at the same as that at Madras, a place situated at a month's journey distant, and to which cotton must be brought at a long distance, and where the selling-price is necessarily higher than in Malabar, where it is grown."

Not only is the land in the ceded districts so heavily taxed as to check the culture of cotton, but the machinery for cleaning it is taxed; an additional tax is imposed on it as it proceeds from stage to stage to the sea-coast, where it has to be packed, and is taxed again before it can quit India, to say nothing of the tax it pays on reaching England.

(called kupass), as it is taken from the plant, is often very much injured before cleaning. It is in this state that the Honourable East India Company levy their land-tax on it. Immediately after it is gathered, it is brought (by the tax-gatherers) into the Government kullies (yards); and if the growers, or owners, are not immediately prepared to pay the tax upon it, the kupass is buried in the ground, as a farmer would his winter potatoes in England, except that there is no straw or matting placed between the earth and the cotton. The top is covered with large lumps of earth. I presume this method has been resorted to on the part of the Hon. East India Company to avoid the slight expense of building sheds, and has been connived at on the part of the dealers and cultivators because the moisture to which it is thus exposed strikes through the cotton, and very much tends to increase its weight, and improve its appearance, for the time being; but when it is packed in a moist state, mildew naturally follows, and before the cotton reaches England the colour is very much deteriorated.

"The kupass (unseeded cotton) also becomes mixed with lumps of hard earth, and as it cannot be passed through the seeding machine without being beaten out, to facilitate the fibres leaving the seed, to which they are very tenacious, these lumps of dirt are broken up into a fine brown powder, which cannot afterwards be extricated from the cotton."

The Bombay Chamber of Commerce to the Chief Secretary to Government.

"Bombay, 4th March, 1837.

"Sir,—I am requested by the Chamber of Commerce most respectfully to bring to the notice of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, the situation in which the cotton dealers in the Breach Collectorate are now placed, owing to the annual assessment (land-tax) on the cotton for the revenue not having been yet fixed.

"Until this assessment has been made, *the cotton cannot be shipped* for Bombay, nor, unless under certain restrictions, not available to all the dealers, *can the cotton be cleaned and prepared for shipment.*

"Under the most favourable circumstances, the time for effecting all this is, from the nature of the climate, necessarily very short.

"Any delay in fixing the assessment, still further curtails the very short period the climate allows, and is felt as a very great hardship."

In addition to these statements of the system of *gutting up* the cotton in Guzerat, I find the following letter in the *Bombay Times*, of the 5th of October, 1839.

“On the kupaus being delivered to the wukarens, it is spread out in the sun to dry the seeds, and then beaten with a stick on a charpoy, to get rid of the *lumps of earth*, in which operation the staple is injured, and the cotton dirtied; the kupaus is then passed through the churka, *which separates the cotton from the seed very perfectly*. The churka-men are paid according to the weight of seed they deliver, so it is their interest to see that none passes through the rollers of the churka with the cotton. The value of the seed is generally equal to the price paid for separating it from the cotton. The cotton is now cleaned and ready to be screwed; if it is not hand-picked, it is more or less leafy, according to its quality, but it may be said that *there is not a single seed in it, and it is quite dry*.

“When the wukarea delivers the cotton to the merchant, he tries to smuggle into the bales as many seeds as possible, and also damps the cotton to increase its weight.

“If the merchant has bought the cotton on account of parties in Bombay, he also puts seed into the bales, and takes out an equivalent weight of cotton; he mixes up the fine Baroche cotton with common short-stapled Malwa cotton; a large quantity of which goes to Baroche when prices there are high, nearly all of which is mixed with the Baroche cotton.

“The cotton being screwed with as much seed and damp as it is thought will pass without remark in Bombay, is (at Baroche), on arriving at the bunder, rolled over about twenty yards of ground, partly within high-water mark—mud or no mud, all the same. On reaching the water's edge, the bales are hoisted into the pattamars by coolies, where they are stowed in two tiers; if any bad weather come on during the passage to Bombay, some of the forward bales are sure to get damaged by the spray.

“The boatmen, too, must have their *dustoree*, so they cut open the bales, abstract as much cotton as they can with safety, and make up the weight by putting stones or salt water into the bales. The cotton stolen by the boatmen is not brought to Bombay, but landed somewhere on the coast.

“I have now traced the Baroche cotton from its picking to its being landed on the Bombay bunder, and I think that far from wondering that its quality has not improved, we should rather be astonished that it reaches Bombay so clean as it does.

“From all I saw during my stay in Guzerat, I feel confident that little or no improvement in the quality of Baroche cotton will be

the villagers might be induced to erect proper sheds for the reception of the cotton. *As soon as the condition of the ryots is ameliorated, the quality of cotton, and all other agricultural produce, may be expected to improve gradually but surely; this, I fear, can never, to any great extent, be looked for as long as the ryots are oppressed by the present enormous Government duties, which reduce the whole agricultural population to the condition of mere day labourers, and deliver them to the tender mercies of the village bunnas, whose exactions leave them just enough to keep soul and body together.*

"Government should be urged to do everything in its power to improve the Guzerat cotton: much advantage may be derived from experimental farms on a large scale; in the mean time, private enterprise may immediately, as far as its own operations extend, improve the quality of Baroche cotton, by employing Europeans well acquainted with the language and habits of the natives to superintend the cleaning and packing of the cotton in the districts, who, if they managed matters with any degree of ability, might, even the first year, send to Bombay a small quantity of the best Toomeil cotton, while the rest of their sendings would be *perfectly free from seed*, and as free, or freer, from leaves than the general run of Baroche cotton.

"I remain, yours,

"A WELL-WISHER TO BOMBAY."

It is not easy for any but practical financiers and merchants, to conceive how small an impediment affects commerce, and frequently averts it from its usual course. I have not met with a stronger instance of this than an observation of Dr. Lush's, in his pamphlet on the cultivation and preparation of cotton in India, which I saw only a few days since. In it, he observes, in 1837,—*"There was, till last year, an injudicious tax on churkas (cotton rollers). The duty was small in its amount, and did not benefit the revenue in such a degree as to blind the Government to its exciseman-like operation. Thanks to modern views, it is now no more. I believe I should not exaggerate if I stated, that the immediate effect of this abolition was to bring between two and three thousand new hands (implements) into play in cleaning cotton."* Surely all such fiscal impediments must give way to common sense.

It is often said that the Hindoos are an ignorant bigoted race, and so wedded to their ancient habits as to prevent their adopting changes,

and private capitalists did not dare compete with so powerful an opponent. Europeans, out of the service, were permitted to reside in India *only* by sufferance, liable to deportation at the will and pleasure of the Government, without cause assigned. No European could hold land in India, nor go there without special leave; to procure which, required much interest and expense.

"Since 1833, the commercial occupation of the Government having ceased, all their establishments have been thrown *too suddenly* on the hands of private speculators. Capital and credit have been deranged by the failure of six agency houses, to an enormous amount. The distance, and want of information about India, have prevented English capitalists from directing their views to that quarter. Credit is now restored—India is brought nearer to England, by the opening of the overland route, and steam communication.

"In order to the obtaining a supply of cotton from India, I would suggest the forming of joint-stock companies, having the liability of shareholders limited. Our capital, credit, and demand, have forced into growth the cottons of America. The climate and soil of British India are perfectly congenial to the growth of fine raw cotton."

With these facts before us, it will naturally be asked to what purpose is it that we are told cotton may be grown in abundance everywhere throughout India, if there are such impediments, as the above, at every step. There is, however, still no cause for despair, the government in India have seen the evil ways of their predecessors, and they are, I believe, willing to alleviate the difficulties with which all questions of commerce are environed in that country. A great step has, I think, been made in the thirty years settlement of the North Western ceded provinces, which are favourably situated in the vicinity of two navigable rivers, where the New Orleans and Upland Georgian cottons succeed so well, and where merchants and their agents might resort at once with a fair prospect of success. The growth of indigo is owing mainly, if not entirely, to the permanent settlement of the land tax in Bengal. There are three modes of obtaining the crop, which might be adopted. The first is, by renting the land from the proprietors, and entering into all the details of husbandry; the second is, by inducing the farmers to cultivate cotton, and purchasing it of them at the market price; and the third is, by advancing capital to grow the cotton, and agreeing to receive it at a fixed price, provided it is delivered sufficiently clean. There are many persons in England who have been indigo planters in India, and from

India, and trade in the indigenous article, than attempt the growth of American cottons under such a government as ours. We have seen, p. 68, that those provinces can afford to import, and undersell the home-grown cotton at Bellary; and an enterprising native merchant of Bombay, has been residing for the last five or six years at Hyderabad, purchasing and transporting on oxen's backs to the sea coast, the cotton grown in Berar, through our more contiguous districts, where it cannot be produced at a profit. What a reflection is this on an European administration denominated enlightened !!!

We now come to the last and serious obstacle to trade, which consists in the absence of fit means of conveyance.

There are no navigable rivers in India but the Ganges and its tributary streams at certain seasons of the year, few roads on which wheel-carriages can travel at all, and hardly any on which they can proceed during the three or four rainy months.

In the year 1833, the late Mr. Bell, an able statistical reporter, was called on to investigate the condition of the inland communication of Bengal, and he writes as follows:—

“The internal trade of Bengal, by land, is chiefly dependent on bullock carriage, which is exceedingly tedious and inconvenient. It is true that Bengal is intersected by many navigable streams that fall into the Ganges, and afford great facility to water carriage, but there are at present so many drawbacks to river navigation, that the importance of opening the resources of the country by good roads, must force itself upon the attention of every one who has taken the trouble to give the subject consideration*.

“During a great part of the year, many nullahs and lakes are closed against the smallest boats; whilst the scanty means of the inhabitants rendering them dependent on immediate returns for their produce, force it into other hands; and so passing it into the possession of a third and fourth, before reaching the grand mart, the price is enhanced proportionately, to the great detriment of our external commerce: whereas, if assisted by good roads, and communication by water, free from all grinding restrictions, a choice of markets and returns would be open to the peasant, which is now only available to those who profit by his labour.

* Since this was written, a cart road from Calcutta to the new Presidency of Agra, about seven hundred miles, has been properly constructed.

districts and the entrepôt. The article, therefore, has necessarily to travel 250 miles on oxen's backs, and the contract for conveyance extends to the whole distance; so that, in fact, for all beneficial purposes to the cotton trade in that quarter, this excellent road is almost useless. In order to render it available, it should be completed to Nagpoor and Amrowty. Were this effected, and the transport by carts substituted, as we may be sure it would be, it would diminish the expense of conveyance alone from $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ to less than a farthing per pound. The calculation is simple. An ox carries 160 lbs., at the rate of seven miles a-day, in *fair weather only*, for a continuous journey of one or two months. In the absence of a defined and good road, a drove of several hundred head of cattle requires to be constantly watched, and prevented from straying on the march: and this leads to the necessity of travelling by day in the hot weather, when the thermometer is seldom less than 100° , and frequently 130° Fahrenheit. These droves are never so few as 100, and often exceed 1,000. Every morning, after daylight, each ox has to be laden; and before this operation is over the sun is already high above the horizon. The cattle have then to proceed at the slow rate of two miles an hour; and seldom perform a journey of more than eight or nine miles per day. The horde generally halts one day in seven. (Troops, in marching in India, are required to halt once on every third day.) If the caravan is overtaken by rain, the cotton, becoming saturated with moisture, is so heavy as to prevent its transport on the cattle, and the roads, if lying through the cotton ground, are so deep that men even sink above their ancles at every step, and cattle to their knees. It may easily be supposed that, under such a calamity, the merchant and the carrier are both ruined. How different is the case with a cart on a good road. Here the goods, once laden, may be secured from rain, and are never touched during the whole journey. The attachment of the cattle to the yoke does not literally occupy a minute. Thus harnessed, the cart can travel by night, during moonlight; and morning and evening, in dark nights, at the rate of from fifteen to twenty miles a day; and the cart of the Deccan, awkward and ill-constructed as it is, with two draught oxen, conveys with facility the loads of ten carriage-cattle,—that is to say, 1,600 lbs.; and proceeds at the rate of two and a half, or even three miles an hour. At present the Amrowty, and other Berar cotton, finds its way down to Bombay on the backs of oxen, and costs from $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $2d.$ per lb. in fair weather, but, if it comes on to rain, which

trade. In the present state of the stagnation of all internal traffic, for want of roads, no more legitimate measure for the improvement of the country, and the certain increase of the revenue, can be suggested, than the opening a loan, if such be necessary, for the express purpose of internal communication, the interest of which the most trifling tolls would serve to pay.

The construction of good roads seems an imperative duty on the sovereign landlord, that claims and takes from the tenantry all which is not deemed absolutely requisite to enable the latter to till their lands on the following year. The precise amount, necessary for this purpose, however, it is confessedly difficult to ascertain, and the portion allowed must have been insufficient; for out of sixteen millions sterling of land revenue, collected in 1826, we find but little more than eleven millions realized in 1836, and it has since further declined. If some such measure as is in the course of adoption in the Agra provinces (vide p. 57) be not speedily extended to other parts where the land-tax is still fluctuating, that fundamental source of Indian revenue will probably fall off still more.

But there are other hindrances to the commercial intercourse between India and England besides those to which I have adverted. In the first place, there are the transit duties throughout the Madras provinces, levied on all articles, from the spot of their production to the port from whence they embark. In the second place, are the several imposts, or taxes on all descriptions of machinery, from the wheel and the bow to clean the cotton, down to the mill which expresses oil, or the juice of the sugar-cane. Arrived at the coast, the article is loaded with a heavy export duty, whether it proceeds to a neighbouring port of British India or to England. Last, not least, of the evils with which the commerce of India is beset, is the cruel and unjust laws which emanate, not from the local legislature there, but from the legislature of Great Britain. While the trade was confined to the East India Company, as it was up to the year 1813, India was viewed and treated, not as a dependency, but as a *foreign country*, not as a foreign independent state even, but as a conquered country, that had forfeited all title to be dealt with either as a colony, or as an ally. In this cruel spirit of legislation, while the colonies were permitted to levy $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duties on the productions of England imported into them, India was prohibited from levying more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on British manufactured goods, and the Government there imposed enormous duties

The population of India, confessedly ground down by taxation, and reduced to the lowest state of poverty, contributes the small sum of (per *hd.*) £— 3 8 per an.

Looking at our commerce with the above colonies, we find—

That the West Indies take from us, in exchange for her sugars, her rum, her coffee, &c., manufactures to the extent of (per head)	£4 8 0	per an.
Sydney takes, in exchange for her wool and oil (per head)	12 0 0	
Van Dieman's Land, ditto	20 0 0	
And none of our colonies consume less of our home manufactures than (per head)	1 10 0	

While India, shut out from commercial intercourse, does not consume more than 7*d.* a head, though there are, independent of the native population, upwards of 20,000 Englishmen distributed throughout the country, whether as soldiers, civilians, or merchants, who probably purchase more than half of the whole amount imported.

Can we be surprised, however, at this state of things, when we look steadily at the picture which has been exhibited of our financial legislation in that country? And can it be doubted that if India enjoyed the privileges granted to our other colonies, that she would, at no very distant period, yield *ten times the revenue* she now does to the state, and consume ten times the amount of our manufactures which she now takes from us? It is difficult to calculate on the rapid and enormous growth of the commerce of one hundred and fifty millions of an industrious and ingenious people, set to work by a demand for the produce of their agricultural labour by a nation ready to supply all their wants by returning to them their own raw materials worked up in manufactures. Imagine such a trade carried on in **BRITISH VESSELS** instead of in American, as is now the case with the cotton trade, and contemplate our altered maritime position with that country. Is this a point to be overlooked? It may well be asked why it is India has been so neglected, and has hitherto been deprived of the ordinary advantages permitted to our colonies, and even to foreign states?

• SHE IS WITHOUT REPRESENTATION!!!

But the time is come when the parliament of Great Britain will, it is hoped, be called on to interfere in behalf of the hundred millions

